Giving Voice to a Nation: Choral Music and Russian Identity in St. Petersburg, 1861-1913

By

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Abstract

This project examines the cultural practices surrounding choral singing and composition in St. Petersburg between 1861 and 1913, when boundaries of social classes realigned. Because people from a range of social classes experienced choral music, this repertoire and its practices played a vital role in the construction of identity during the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite the central socio-cultural role played by this repertoire, it has yet to be investigated as a source of cultural significance. This study contributes to three major areas of scholarship. First of all, advancing knowledge about lesser-known musical figures, unfamiliar choral repertoire, and the reception of choral music from late nineteenth-century Russia informs not only our portrayal of the choral scene in Russia, but also the international landscape of choral music. Secondly, by investigating musical networks thus far overlooked as participants in the construction of the musical scene in St. Petersburg, this document provides evidence about the people active in music making, both professional and amateur. Lastly, these observations expand on the current, still limited definition of Russian nationalism during the nineteenth century, as well as complement the importance of music as a social and ethnic identifier. Investigating choral institutions based in St. Petersburg between 1861 and 1913 as settings of identity negotiation reveals the complexity of defining Russianness within the fluctuating social classes and, likewise, how choral music shaped the emerging concepts of nation, state, and culture.

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Preface

As parameters to the time frame selected for this project, 1861 was chosen as the place to begin research because it marked the era of social reform that prompted the renegotiation of social and political standing among many Russians. Social unrest began to take hold in St. Petersburg following the events of "Bloody Sunday" in 1905, but the upheaval of political, military, and industrial stability came to fruition in 1914 with strikes shutting down four-fifths of manufacturing production in the capital and Russia's entrance into World War I against Germany. The journals found for this project demonstrated continuous choral activity into the 1910s, but with the disruption of musical institutions following 1913. Cultural events halted and ideologies shifted. Such institutions were entirely remodeled or restarted after the overthrow of the government in 1917. The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought about another round of political and social changes, activating the arbitration of national and cultural identity. Thus, 1913 marked a clear ending to the ideological movements of the nineteenth century and the cultural context to examine them.

Regarding the transliteration of Russian terms and names, I have followed the U.S. Library of Congress system, with the notable exception of proper names, where I have preferred to use the -sky ending rather than -skii. In the transcription of original publications, I replaced the Old Cyrillic letters with the modern system of alphabetization and disregarded the hard sign as previously used at the end of words following consonants.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In July 2014, Russia's premier choral ensemble, the State Academic Kapella, took the stage in St. Petersburg to offer an electrifying performance of folk and art song arrangements. The audience, myself included, clapped in rhythm and cheered the ensemble in an interactive, celebratory atmosphere. Their performance, like those given by choirs over the course of hundreds of years, played a role in unifying the community and celebrating conceptions of Russianness. This repertoire and its performance practices played a particularly vital role in the construction of identity during the late-nineteenth century, when people from a range of social classes experienced choral music not only as consumers, but also as performers. Despite the central socio-cultural role played by this repertoire, it has yet to be investigated as a source of cultural significance. My study examines the cultural practices surrounding choral singing and composition between 1861 and 1913, when large-scale renegotiation of social classes, political restructuring, and Russian identities took place. Focusing on this pivotal moment in Russia's history creates a platform to study the self-expression of Russian identities from a variety of political, religious, and social positions. By confronting a rich body of untapped sources, this research contributes a new approach to understanding pluralities of nationalism, culture, and aesthetics within Russian choral music.

In Russian social history, choral music was performed in worship in the Russian Orthodox Church, in political contexts, and in the secular folk tradition. During the nineteenth century, choral music appeared at ceremonies for the tsar, on the opera stage, and at seasonal festivals, as well as in folk contexts, such as songs for work, children, dancing, love, rituals, and the family. This music enabled the articulation of national, cultural, and religious identities in vital and beautiful ways. Thanks to its use in various religious, cultural, and social settings,

choral music functions as a central agent to investigate expressions of identity. Remaining a crucial musical form to Russians from its roots in post-Emancipation Russia through the twentieth century, choral music served as political propaganda and a tool for ideological projection under the Soviet regime, and later revived as patriotic recollection for audiences in the twenty-first century. Furthermore, because this period set the stage for the Soviet platform, the implications of this study reach far beyond the nineteenth century to illuminate elements of Russianness in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Considering the series of events and organization of governmental structures in Russia leading up to 1861 sheds light on the Russian search for national and cultural identities at the end of the nineteenth century. Russia functioned as an autocracy, with periods of varied tyrannical intensity, since its establishment as an empire in 1547 by Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible). The political structure of the Romanov Empire (1721-1917) dispersed power between three institutions under the ultimate authority of the tsar. The Senate operated as the judicial system, writing and enforcing national laws; the Holy Synod oversaw the Russian Orthodox Church (officially under the Eastern Orthodox Church, which will be referred to as the Orthodox Church throughout this document) and participated in State issues; the tsar's Council of Ministers advised the emperor and managed administrative duties, but lacked any judicial powers.[1] Installed within these ranks were the tsar's personal favorites. Catherine the Great (reigned 1762-1796) implemented a division of the empire into 50 *gubernii* (provinces) and 360 *uezdy* (districts). Every district had multiple counties, and each county, multiple towns.[2] Within this structure, nobles essentially possessed portions of land and its serfs through political

[1] Dominic Lieven, ed., *The Cambridge History of Russia: Volume 2, Imperial Russia, 1689-1917* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 437-440.
[2] Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia and the Russians* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 215-216.

associations. This configuration remained in place until the social reforms in the 1860s, the greatest occurrence of mobility between social, political, and economic levels.

The use of the term "class" is best understood from the definition of the Russian word *soslovie*, which more precisely means an "estate" to which one is attached by law. These estate (or class) systems in Russia until the 1860s consisted of four divisions: ruling class, upper class, merchant class, and peasantry. Legal rights, taxes, and educational and professional opportunities aligned specifically to one's class; the ability to transfer between classes was nearly impossible.[3] All government figures including the tsar and his ministers belonged to the ruling class. The upper class at the beginning of the century consisted of approximately thirteen percent of Russia's population and was exempt from taxation and military service. Cultural westernization took place in the court halls, most effectively under Peter the Great and Catherine the Great with the aims of elevating Russian economic, intellectual, and moral status. Peter the Great propelled this plan by forcing features of western fashion, education, and language into the noble class. He encouraged the nobility to learn French, as it was the foremost political and scholarly language of Europe at this time. Having effectively taken hold, many in the nobility were more comfortable conversing in French until the early-nineteenth century.[4] This small group possessed the majority of wealth in Russia; however, the immense financial support provided by the government contributed to the eventual collapse of the Imperial fiscal system. Within the upper class, clergy members of the Orthodox Church held more power than that of the nobility, also surpassing the nobility in literacy and education.[5] The merchant class (*kupechestvo*) made up around five percent of Russia's whole, the smallest social population. The remainder of Russian

[3] Boris N. Mironov, *The Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700-1917* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 203-208.
[4] Derek C. Offord et al., *French and Russian in Imperial Russia. Volume 2, Language Attitudes and Identity* (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 12-13.
[5] Mironov, *The Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700-1917*, 221-225.

society was made up of four categories of peasants: state peasants (which belonged to the crown), manorial peasants or serfs (belonging to nobility, those depicted as ideally Russian), court peasants (property of the imperial family), and economic peasants (directly attached to factories). Peasants outside of large cities lived in self-governing communities or village communes. This system of social division existed with minimal change until the 1861 Emancipation Reforms. Surveyed in 1897, the peasantry made up about 85 percent of Russia's population, decreased from 89 percent in 1858.[6]

Alexander II (reign 1855-1881) implemented the first major series of social and bureaucratic reforms in 1861, the turning point of economic progress towards the industrial revolution. These reforms included the abolition of serfdom, consolidation of power in the state, and the administration of a local system of governance. The reforms altered social rights that gave new opportunities to the peasant class including legal rights to buy and sell land, benefits of military service, and opportunities for education and work (usually in factories or menial labor).[7] Most notably, mobility between the peasantry and merchant class energized socio-economic developments, particularly in growing cities, though still limited by their geography and skill sets.[8] In conjunction with the industrial revolution during the 1880s and 1890s, the growing working class affected demands on production, lifestyle expectations, and educational opportunities. This era of socio-cultural re-identification produced a widespread emergence of nationalism among Russia's citizens.

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[6] Mironov, *The Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700-1917*, 245-250; Michael Lynch, *Reaction and Revolutions: Russia 1881-1924* (London, UK: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992), 10.
[7] Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire 1552-1917,* 223.
[8] Mironov, *The Social History of Imperial Russia, 1700-1917*, 250-255. The peasant class consolidated into a single estate of free rural people, reduced to 30 percent of the population by 1897.

The 1861 reforms empowered Russia's largest demographic by emancipating the majority of the population, the peasantry. The growing middle class began to develop as a group with varied backgrounds, rather than solely on religious or ethnic affiliation. Between these various social groups and classes, the definition of Russia as a "nation" versus "state" took on diverse meanings. The historical perspective of this period defines a nation as a synonym with ethnicity or tribe, and nationality as an ethnic or cultural group. The state then was the authority that legislated and enforced laws, organized protection for its citizens, and attempted to maintain a civil society.[9] This construction of social groups as distinct from the government allowed for a more personalized appraisal of social traits and shared ideals to define Russianness within a multiethnic empire.

Following the emergence of nationalism in many European countries at the beginning of the century, the 1861 reforms inspired a similar evaluation of a national identity. However, nationalism and identity are complicated matters in Russia due to its unusual history, varied associations with the West, and geographical challenges of unification. For centuries, Russia existed as a conglomeration of ethnic groups and socio-economic communities governed by a distant political state, which meant that Russians had never possessed a unified national identity. Before the nineteenth century, societal groups in Russia identified themselves primarily according to religious affiliation and native language.[10] In certain eras, one was only a "true Russian" if baptized Orthodox; in other periods, Russianness was defined by ethnicity.[11] Before

[9] Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), 4-6.
[10] Lynch, *Reaction and Revolutions: Russia 1881-1924*, 7.
[11]Wayne Allensworth, *The Russian Question: Nationalism, Modernization, and Post-Communist Russia* (New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998), 99. Sergei Bilenky, *Romantic Nationalism in Eastern Europe : Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian Political Imaginations* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 210.

the Emancipation Reforms, members of the nobility produced the majority of accounts on national identity.

Through both poetry and literature, Russian authors depicted the peasant class (particularly the manorial peasants) as the epitome of Russian identity. The peasant was often defined not as a specific people or people groups, but "as an ideological element, the idea of the peasant as the narod, 'the people.'"[12] This perpetuated a "purely Russian" prototype by idealizing the peasants and their hands-on work with the land, their so-called "natural" way of life, and ethnic purity. Using this model, literature referenced folklore and folk songs as "uncorrupted and pure" elements of Russianness.[13] The Slavophiles believed that Russian culture had been fragmented by efforts of westernization, but that the peasantry retained what Ewa Thompson described as "what was authentic and integral in Russian culture, especially their Christian faith and the communal way of life, the mystical sobornost' (communal spirit) that was a product of that faith."[14] Authors like Nekrasov, Shatov, and Dostoevsky (though not a Slavophile) sensed ideological value in the peasant's preservation of the earlier version of Christianity. Multiple descriptions of the ideal Russian developed, without consensus on which traits best represented a singular national version.

After 1861, philosophical communities became concerned with the issues of Russia's national image. Russian philosophers from this time described their country's social state as backward, claiming Russia had never progressed through an independent period of Enlightenment and was thus merely imitating Western culture.[15] The famous Russian

[12] Ewa M. Thompson, *The Search for Self-Definition in Russian Literature* (Houston, TX: Rice University, 1991), 79.
[13] Chris J. Chulos, and Timo Piirainen, eds. *The Fall of an Empire, the Birth of a Nation* (Burington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2000), 8.
[14] Thompson, *The Search for Self-Definition in Russian Literature*, 87.
[15] Susanna Rabow-Edling, *Slavophile Thought and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 45-48.

philosopher Pyotr Chaadaev (1794-1865) presented the first thesis on the fundamental unoriginality of Russian culture in his "Philosophical Letters."[16] His writing expressed the excellence and advantage of Russia's untouched culture, which gave them a pure perspective on the world and life.[17] Others believed that Russia's absence of an Enlightenment period made it a weaker, less evolved state. Philosophy and criticism about Russia's ethnic and cultural shortcomings significantly shaped perspectives of Russianness.

It was not long before the pendulum swung back towards a more traditional approach of tsarism and peasantry with Nicholas II (ruled 1894-1917). Historian Walter Moss describes the reign of Nicholas II as applying to cultural perspective:

> Nicholas II especially liked to think of himself as following the old-fashioned tsarist tradition – his favorite tsar was the Muscovite ruler Alexei (father of Peter the Great). In his own mind, he was the *tsar-batiushka* (the affectionate father) of the peasant masses. Although he believed in the myth of the benevolent tsar and (like his predecessors) relied upon ceremonies, symbols, and the Russian Orthodox Church to reinforce it and his God-ordained right to rule over his people, the myth itself was losing hold over the masses.[18]

Emperor Alexander III (Nicholas II's father) expressed fascination with the Orthodox liturgy, to the extent that, "He knew the service well and love to sing and lead a choir."[19] This influence can be seen reflected in the life of Nicholas II, as well as sentiments of nationalism. Wortman, in his text on the Russian monarch summarizes this sentiment: "Nicholas displayed his father's strong feelings of national pride and contempt for other nationalities, particularly

[16] Boris Groys, "Russia and the West: The Quest for Russian National Identity," *Studies in Soviet Thought* 43, no. 3 (1992): 187.
[17] Groys, "Russia and the West: The Quest for Russian National Identity," 188.
[18] Walter Moss, *A History of Russia* (New York, NY McGraw-Hill, 1997), 420.
[19] Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 317.

Germans."[20] In this era of turmoil over identity, art and music flourished due to growth of opportunities and fiscal independence of people interested in funding their activities.

St. Petersburg: The European Capital

As the imperial capital of Russia and central location of government, St. Petersburg served as a prominent center of cultural change during the late nineteenth century following the Emancipation Reforms. Founded in 1703 as the seat of the Russian government, St. Petersburg functioned as Russia's state headquarters, leading port city, a major railroad terminus, and the single largest center of industry and commerce. By the 1840s, St. Petersburg had reached nearly half a million citizens. Seven out of ten were men, and more than two out of five were serfs.[21] Because of the industrial development in 1880s and 1890s, the city became Russia's largest military center. Armaments industries provided a surplus of new jobs.[22] Approximately one out of ten people of the lower class worked in the new cotton mills, while others made a living with trades such as shoemaking and tailoring. Lower-class people fulfilled positions of hard labor for huge construction projects such as the Kazan and St. Isaac's Cathedrals, the Synod, the Admiralty, and other government buildings. These thousands of laborers worked up to sixteen hours a day.[23] W. Bruce Lincoln describes the financial opportunities made available in St. Petersburg: "Compared to Russia's villagers who lived in wretched poverty, the men who came

[20] Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II*, 318.
[21] W. Bruce Lincoln, *Sunlight at Midnight: St. Petersburg and the Rise of Modern Russia* (Boulder, CO: Basic Books, 2002), 130.
[22] Michael F. Hamm ed., *The City in Late Imperial Russia* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 43-46.
[23] Lincoln, *Sunlight at Midnight: St. Petersburg and the Rise of Modern Russia*, 130.

to St. Petersburg looking for work found the effort worthwhile, for a man could earn more cash there in a few weeks than an entire serf household could assemble in several months of work in the fields."[24] With industrial, economic, artistic, and musical production abounding, people of every social class resided within the city limits.

St. Petersburg makes a fascinating study of social upheaval during the rapid industrialization in the second half of the century because of the proximity of different social groups within the city limits. In comparison to Moscow at this time, St. Petersburg culture fostered a more cosmopolitan environment. With the central government based in St. Petersburg, the cultural impact of politics and court trends on the people was most prevalent in this city. Tens of thousands of peasants came from hundreds of miles to try their luck in St. Petersburg. Due to rapid population growth, lower-class citizens often lived in communal rooms with upwards of 10 to 12 people. Because of inadequate transportation in the city that prevented the development of suburbs developing in the outskirts, migrant peasants and nobles lived condensed within the city. Minimal public segregation occurred on a daily basis, making the gap between the rich and the poor easily visible to all.[25] On top of troublesome living arrangements, the city had inadequate facilities for water supply and waste disposal, an ideal environment for flooding and the spread of disease. Outbreaks of cholera and typhus were almost annual occurrences.[26] Similar environments existed in growing industrial cities in the United States, England, Germay, and France mid-century. Specific to Russia, Gritsai and Wusten emphasize the issues alcohol caused citizens: "Drunkenness had become such an acute social problem by the mid-1860s that one of

[24] Lincoln, *Sunlight at Midnight: St. Petersburg and the Rise of Modern Russia*, 130.
[25] Murray Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters* (London, UK: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2000), 11.
[26] Hamm ed., *The City in Late Imperial Russia*, 56-59.

the city's leading newspapers warned that 'it forces us to think about it as a social catastrophe.'"[27]

In contrast, upper class citizens enjoyed lavish palaces and flats often rewarded to them by the government. St. Petersburg's aristocrats numbered approximately 50,000 at the middle of the nineteenth century. As primary residence of the aristocracy and royal family, the city became the center of education for young people, particularly aristocratic families, including military high schools, institutes for females from the nobility, and engineering schools.[28] This class contained members of the military or highly-ranked civil service, as well as those that were a part of the Court, living on income from their estates. For fiscal comparison, the wealthy aristocrats enjoyed yearly incomes in the tens of thousands of rubles, versus that of the lower class attempting survival on 200-500 rubles annually.[29] Tradesmen and artisans numbered almost 15,000 by this time, still beneath the non-noble business merchants, with businesses such as metal working plants and cotton mills worth tens and hundreds of thousands of rubles.[30] The city contained a wide range of cultures and lifestyles encompassing an extensive variety of musical engagements.

The cultural scene of St. Petersburg rivaled those of Vienna, Paris, London, and Berlin, employing elite musicians and composers among extravagant venues for performance during the nineteenth century. The Imperial Court supported both private and public events—most of which offered imported musical styles, primarily Italian, French, and German.[31] The city supported a professional orchestra, world-class opera, ballets, theaters, and an abundance of café performers.

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[27] Lincoln, *Sunlight at Midnight: St. Petersburg and the Rise of Modern Russia*, 135.
[28] Olga Gritsai and Herman Van der Wusten, "Moscow and St. Petersburg, a Sequence of Capitals, a Tale of Two Cities," *GeoJournal* 51, no. 1 (2000): 35.
[29] Lincoln, *Sunlight at Midnight: St. Petersburg and the Rise of Modern Russia*, 131.
[30] Lincoln, *Sunlight at Midnight: St. Petersburg and the Rise of Modern Russia*, 138.
[31] Hamm ed., *The City in Late Imperial Russia*, 65.

In the last quarter of the century, the monopoly of the Russian Imperial Theater was abolished, enabling the growth of commercial activity, catering to more diverse and experimental tastes. Frame describes the three types of new theaters as private ones owned by wealthy merchants, commercially oriented entertainment, and popular theater (*narodnyi teatr*).[32] The popular theaters were the only locations that lower-class citizens could have afforded to attend.

Thanks to this plethora of events, even the working class could attend an assortment of entertainment free of charge.[33] Spreading awareness of musical events and expanding accessibility were three major publishing companies: Matvey Bernard, Vasily Denotkin, and Vasily and Ivan Bessel, each of whom provided music publications and ran music shops around the city. Affordable sheet music including European repertory, teaching manuals, and scholarly works such as music histories and journals were available to the general population in St. Petersburg. Additionally, these companies published newspapers and specialized music journals that printed performance announcements and reviews, criticisms, and sheet music of new compositions. Circulated to the public through newspapers and journals, a growing literate populace witnessed the ongoing construction of identity and nationalism as discussed by writers.

Nationalism as a musical movement in Russia emphasized elements such as folk songs, dances, rhythms, and tales that reflect national life or history. The men of the famous nineteenth-century compositional group associated with St. Petersburg, "The Mighty Handful," represent the most well-known composers who cultivated a Russian national style in music: Modest Mussorgsky (1839-1881), Mily Balakirev (1837-1910), César Cui (1835-1918), Alexander Borodin (1833-1887), and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908). Balakirev, leader of the

[32] Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters*, 13.
[33] Anthony E. Swift, *Popular Theater and Society in Tsarist Russia* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 235.

group, emphasized a search for Russia's authentic music and led the others to explore these expressions in their writing as well. "The Five" produced operas, choral works, and Russian *romances* (solo songs). Including programmatic or extra-musical associations were signatures of their instrumental compositions. Features such as distinctive orchestration, lack of traditional voice-leading, and expressions of exoticism (particularly Asiatic) came to represent that of a Russian national style from the group.[34] One of the most influential voices on nationalism in Russian musical practices, Vladimir Stasov (1824-1906), promoted ideals of Russia's nationalist composers through criticism and interaction with Russian composers.[35] He argued that the Russian nationalist composers were "clean slates" due to their lack of institutional training and that the music they produced surpassed that of Europeans in creativity and genius. Through the propagandizing of the Russian nationalist school, Stasov built an ideological myth of unified nationalism around these composers. Affirming Stasov's beliefs, César Cui promoted the concept of a Russian musical style. However, later critical evaluation and analysis of music written by "The Five" demonstrates typical characteristics in composition, but an absence of unanimous nationalistic idioms.[36] The critically acclaimed critic and composer, Alexander Serov (1821-1870), became an enemy to the nationalists thanks to his lack of support and open admiration of Wagner.

Musical societies played an important role in the emergence of identity as support to Russian composers and performers in the alternative constructions of Russian identity. Alongside the expanding system of music education in St. Petersburg, these societies organized and funded public concerts. With the intent of raising the standard of music performance and disseminating

[34] Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism from Glinka to Stalin* (London, UK: Yale University Press, 2007), 149.
[35] Stephen Walsh, *Musorgsky and His Circle: A Russian Musical Adventure* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 58-63.
[36] Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism from Glinka to Stalin*, 204.

musical education, the pianist and composer Anton Rubinstein founded the Russian Musical Society (RMS) in 1859, based on Western conservatory models. With financial support from the imperial family and patrons, the RMS held competitions, supported young composers, and opened branches to do the same in other cities in Russia.[37] To counteract the traditions of Western (specifically German) training and create an opposing "Russian" school of music, Mily Balakirev and Gavriil Lomakin founded the Free School of Music in 1862.[38] These ideological polarities during the late-nineteenth century were at the center of St. Petersburg's musical conflict.

The construction of a Russian national musical style is especially visible in texted musical forms that incorporate poetry, folk song, and folk legends to both reflect on and educate listeners about what it meant to be Russian. Opera and the *romance* experienced obvious popularity in St. Petersburg; however, sacred and secular choral music, in comparison, affected the largest number of people through not only reception, but also participation. Choral music in this period exemplifies the interest in folk traditions as an element in seeking national identity as seen in the newly composed *partesny*-style songs (polyphonic, unaccompanied part-songs) and *narodnye pesni* (folk-song arrangements).[39]

A variety of ensembles presented choral music to the public during the end of the nineteenth century. The Imperial Court Kapella stood as the elite choir, state funded and supported, with the most prestigious conducting position. This ensemble began in Moscow in

[37] Lynn M. Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 70-72.
[38] Carolyn C. Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917* (London, UK: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000), 34-36.
[39] Leading the nationalist musicians, Balakirev revived the folk song trend with his publication in 1877 that included his own harmonizations. However, Rimsky-Korsakov (1877), Chaikovsky (1868) and Liadov (1894) also completed folk-song collections. Yuly Melgunov and Nikolai Palchikov published the first transcriptions of Russian folk polyphony in 1888.

1479 serving the Uspensky Cathedral and was relocated to St. Petersburg under Peter the Great (reigned 1682-1725), designated the Imperial Kapella. Originally serving in both the sacred church functions and on the opera stage, the Kapella achieved pristine vocal technique.[40] Significant choral composers served as directors, such as Dmitry Bortniansky (1751-1825), Mikhail Glinka (1804-1857), Mily Balakirev, and Anton Arensky (1861-1906). As the most highly esteemed ensemble in St. Petersburg with the largest budget and the most skilled performers, capabilities of the Imperial Court Kapella included presentations of an extensive selection of choral repertoire including large-scale sacred works unmanageable by smaller, private ensembles. Their reputation of excellence and prestige surpassed that of any other in St. Petersburg. Major churches such as St. Isaac's Cathedral, Our Lady of Kazan Cathedral, Smolny Cathedral, Trinity Cathedral, and Alexander Nevsky Lavra similarly maintained independent choruses.[41]

The other choral groups operating in St. Petersburg functioned on limited budgets and performance resources. These independently funded choirs and choral schools appeared for the first time during the second half of the nineteenth century. The two major choral institutions, I. A. Melnikov's Free Choral Class and A. A. Arkhangelsky's Choir, exemplify the range of opportunities for choral singing in St. Petersburg. Arkhangelsky's Choir employed professional singers and financially supported itself. Melnikov's Free Choral Class invited singers of all classes, including those who could not afford lessons (often factory workers) to participate on the weekends.[42] Programs included Western cantatas, opera choruses, and a variety of Russian

[40] Richard Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 96.
[41] Simon Dixon, *Catherine the Great* (New York: Ecco, 2009), 79.
[42] Donna M. Di Grazia, *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music* (New York, NY: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 432.

works from the turn of the nineteenth century (beginning with Bortniansky) to those newly composed.

While the historically well-known composers of the "Mighty Handful" (*moguchaia kuchka*, also referred to in print as the "Kuchka" or "Kuchkists" in short and later in scholarship as the "Mighty Five") wrote some choral music, a lesser-known body of composers produced a proliferation of choral works in this period, most of which was not known in the West. The choral composers that will serve as the basis of compositional output for my research are Anton Arensky, Sergei Taneev (1856-1915), Alexander Arkhangelsky (1846-1924), Pavel Chesnokov (1877-1944), Alexander Grechaninov (1865-1936), Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov (1859-1935), Alexander Ilyinsky (1859-1920), Alexander Taneev (1850-1918), Sergei Lyapunov (1859-1924), and Nikolai Sokolov (1859-1922). Pyotr Chaikovsky (1840-1893) wrote a considerable amount of choral music, including large-scale works based on liturgical texts, and two secular cantatas. Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873-1943) composed cantatas for chorus and orchestra, three secular and two sacred.[43]

State of Research

Ideologies of nationalism were at the center of philosophical debate during the nineteenth-century; however, it was not until the twentieth century that historians published on the issues of Russian nationalism outside of Russia's borders. Identity evaluation mainly focuses on the struggle between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, touching on Russia's literature, poetry, and

[43] Di Grazia, *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, 433.

folk music.[44] Written by Alexander Polunov, the most thorough examination of ethnic and cultural identity during the nineteenth century examines areas of Orthodoxy, Cossackry, nationalism, gender issues, and village traditions.[45] Lieven's and Groys's studies of Russian identities elaborate on the differences between political and cultural nationalism, as well as Russia's dealings with the West as an element of fundamental philosophical debate.[46] Many specialists now focus on individual ethnicities (or territories) implanted in or detained by Russian control and issues of nationalism within an ethnic group. The publications focus on particular regions: Ukraine, Crimea, Poland, and the Caucasus.[47] The most currently trending issues involve the periods of revolutions in the twentieth century, society under the Soviet Union, and the recent redevelopment of Russian identity after the fall of the Soviet Union.[48] Other identities attached to social class, religion, and gender have received only minimal attention thus far.[49]

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[44] Stephen K. Carter, *Russian Nationalism Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (London, UK: Pinter Publishers, 1990).; Paul Debreczeny and Jesse Zeldin, eds., *Literature and National Identity: Nineteenth-Century Russian Critical Essays* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1970).; Simon Franklin and Emma Widdis, *National Identity in Russian Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).; Wendy Helleman, *The Russian Idea: In Search of a New Identity* (Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers, 2004).

[45] Alexander Polunov, *Russia in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Donald J. Raleigh, The New Russian History (New York, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 2005).

[46] Boris Groys, "Russia and the West: The Quest for Russian National Identity," *Studies in Soviet Thought* 43, no. 3 (1992): 185-198; Dominic Lieven, "Russian, Imperial and Soviet Identities," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8, (1998): 253-269.

[47] Colin Robert Armstrong, "West Meets East: Giuseppe Sarti's Influence on Russian Church Music: A Study of Western Influence and Surviving Russian Traits" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011); Zenon E. Kohut, "Origins of the Unity Paradigm: Ukraine and the Construction of Russian National History," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 1 (2001): 70-76; J. G. Purves and D. A., West, eds. *War and Society in Nineteenth Century Russian Empire* (Toronto: New Review Books, 1972); Elizabeth White, "The Socialist Revolutionary Party, Ukraine, and Russian National Identity in the 1920s." *Russian Review* 66, no. 4 (2007): 549-567.

[48] Catriona Kelly and David Shepherd eds., *Constructing Russian Culture in the Age of Revolution: 1881-1940* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998); Robert C. Williams, *Russia Imagined: Art, Culture, and National Identity*, 1840-1995 (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1997); Andreas Renner, "Defining a Russian Nation: Mikhail Katkov and the 'Invention' of National Politics," *The Slavonic and East European Review 81*, no. 4 (2003): 659-682.

[49] Groys, "Russia and the West: The Quest for Russian National Identity," 192-193.

Studies on gender issues appear in descriptions of the educational system during the nineteenth century.[50]

Literature operated as a dynamic component of identity construction in Russia. The nation's first substantial body of literature blossomed in the early nineteenth century characterized by the works of Gogol, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Chekov, and Pushkin. Russia's Golden Era of literature primarily dealt with matters of common people, a powerful influence on perspectives of Russianness. A substantial body of scholarship dedicated to this literature analyzed features of style, genre, form, subject matter, characters, figurative language, and symbolism.[51] David Cooper examined this development of "national literature" including discourse on folk traditions, songs, and stories. Cooper inspected the incorporation of Russian characteristics in popular literature and the effects on the perception of Russian identities.[52] Another perspective on the usage of literature in culture from Boris Gasparov's book chapter focuses on the ways that Russian musicians used Pushkin's works as the basis for theatrical and lyrical compositions.[53] Gasparov argues that after the initial compositions based on Pushkin's work, subsequent musical settings became elucidations on the prior musical settings, rather than direct interpretations of the Pushkin texts.[54] This body of writing became a principal component in the development of a Russian national musical style.

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[50] Kelly, *Constructing Russian Culture in the Age of Revolution: 1881-1940*, 67-69.
[51] David L. Cooper, *Creating the Nation: Identity and Aesthetics in Early Nineteenth-Century Russia and Bohemia* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010); Ronald Hingley, *Russian Writers and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977); Anne Lounsbery, *Thin Culture, High Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Melissa J. Sokol, "Rumor and Gossip in 19th Century Russian Literature: Griboedov, Pushkin, Gogol, and Dostoevsky" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 2007).
[52] David L. Cooper, *Creating the Nation: Identity and Aesthetics in Early Nineteenth-Century Russia and Bohemia* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010).
[53] Boris Gasparov, "*Pushkin in Music*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Pushkin*, ed. Andrew Kahn (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
[54] Gasparov, "*Pushkin in Music*," 60.

Up until the last decade, scholarship on nationalism and music in Russia concentrated on the composers of the "The Mighty Handful" including Mussorgsky, Balakirev, Cui, Borodin, and Rimsky-Korsakov. It was Richard Taruskin's text in 1997 that re-evaluated the Russian historical perspective on its musical past; *Defining Russia Musically,* a landmark text on Russian music, included examination of musical characteristics of nationalism and the situations surrounding the establishment of a Russian national style.[55] Continuing in this vein, research by Marina Frolova-Walker challenged the accuracy of the nationalist label by theoretically analyzing the music of such composers.[56] In summary, Frolova-Walker's text breaks down the nationalist myth surrounding "The Mighty Handful" and Glinka and defines more clearly the musical elements that characterized the "Russianness" in their works. The focus of this text is operatic and instrumental compositions, with a minimal mention of Orthodox traditions. Evaluating the choral compositions and performances from this period contributes a new perspective to the role of choral music played in shaping Russian nationalism.

There is little research surrounding the historical performance of choral music, sacred or secular, its reception, or the place of this music in relation to social identities during the nineteenth century. The study of Russian choral repertoire primarily exists from evidence in the Orthodox Church. Donna Di Grazia's text on choral music contains two chapters by Vladimir Morosan, a leading scholar on Russian choral and liturgical music, on Russian repertoire with a history of choral groups throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as the notable composers of choral repertoire.[57] Morosan's text on choral performance remains the

[55] Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).
[56] Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism from Glinka to Stalin*.
[57] Di Grazia, *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*.

definitive study on this topic.[58] The extent of research on Russian choral music beyond this is limited to a handful of articles, such as Olga Dolskaya-Ackerly's article on national identity in Russian sacred choral music, discussing the erosion of identity following the 1917 revolution.[59]

Though there is evidence of choral music performed during the pre-revolutionary era, the social and cultural aspects of these works and their performances are uncharted. Even the choral and solo vocal compositions among the most famous composers have received little scholarly investigation. Some minor choral and vocal composers such as Titov, Dargomyzhsky, and Grechaninov appear in the *Choral Journal*, listing only basic biographical details and output.[60] The single choral ensemble studied for its nationalist elements is the Piatnitsky State Russian Folk Choir, from the Soviet era, which Susannah Smith assessed through reception and reviews in her dissertation (1997).[61]

Biographies of composers often contain useful employment information, details on where they worked, and records of personal contacts, in addition to composition lists. A decent amount of publications exists in Russian, but the literature in English is minimal. There are complete biographies on Alexander Serov, Maximilian Steinberg, and César Cui in Russian, with no English translations. Thorough English publications have appeared on Glazunov, Rubinstein, Mussorgsky, Borodin, and Balakirev.[62] The other composers working in St. Petersburg during

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[58] Walter Vladimir Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986).
[59] Olga Dolskaya-Ackerly, "Aesthetics and National Identity in Russian Sacred Choral Music: A Past in Tradition and Present in Ruins," *Choral Journal* 42, no. 5 (2001): 9-24.
[60] Vladimir Morosan, "Research Report - Two Russian Choral Giants: Alexander Kastalsky (1856-1926) and Sergei Taneyev (1856-1915)," *Choral Journal* 48, no. 11 (2008): 75-96; Philip Camp, "Alexandre Gretchaninoff, 1864-1956: Leading Composer and Spokesman for the New Russian Choral School," *Choral Journal* 47, no. 3 (2006): 30-42.
[61] Susannah Lockwood Smith, "Soviet Arts Policy, Folk Music, and National Identity: The Piatnitsky State Russian Folk Choir, 1927-1945" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1997).
[62] David Brown, *Musorgsky: His Life and Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Sergei Aleksandrovich Dianin, *Borodin* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1963); Caryl Emerson, *The Life of Musorgsky*

the nineteenth century appear in collections and encyclopedic articles.[63] The most significant English-language biographical information on Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov exists in the *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians Online* and in Gerald Abraham's *Rimsky-Korsakov: A Short Biography.*[64] Otherwise, the only details available of composers consist of musical compositions, cataloged or listed in reference texts.

Research Questions and Methodology

My research contributes to three major areas of scholarship. First, I provide further knowledge about lesser-known musical figures and non-canonic choral repertoire. The uses of this contribution include bringing unfamiliar choral works to light, expanding the scheme of Russia's compositional trends, and providing exposure to musical figures that have been overlooked. As a repertoire consumed by the majority of Russians living in St. Petersburg, it expands our understanding of the musical culture as experienced by a variety of social classes. I explore how composers incorporated ideas of Russianness into their compositions from new works during the years 1861-1913.

Second, I investigate musical networks in St. Petersburg, which have been largely unstudied thus far. My research provides further knowledge about this city and the networks that

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(Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 1999); N. A. Figurovsky and Yu. I Solov'ev, *Aleksandr Porfir'evich Borodin: A Chemist's Biography* (Berlin, DE: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 1988); Edward Garden, *Balakirev: A Critical Study of His Life and Music* (London, UK: Faber and Faber, 1967); A. F. Nazarov, *César Antonivich Cui* (Moscow, RU: Muzyka, 1989); Donald J. Venturini, *Alexander Glazounov: His Life and Works* (Delphos, OH: Aero Printing, 1992).

[63] Mikhail Zetlin, *The Five: The Evolution of the Russian School of Music* (New York, NY: International Universities Press, Inc., 1959).

[64] Mark Humphreys et al., "Rimsky-Korsakov," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/52074, accessed 6 March 2017.

formed its flourishing artistic and musical scene during the late nineteenth century. Evaluation of the musical networks such as conservatories, publishing companies, musical societies, and professional ensembles inform our understanding about the reception of choral music, the people active in music making (both professional and amateur), and the role of choral music as a vehicle of identity expression.

Finally, by studying the choral performance tradition of the post-reform era my research clarifies the portrayal of public choral activity in St. Petersburg and expands on the current, still limited definition of Russian nationalism during the nineteenth century. The collection of information regarding performance locations, concert programs, public announcements, newspaper reviews, and ticket sales illuminates features of social identification as evidenced through the consumption and performance of choral music. My work not only contributes to the discourse of nineteenth-century identity, but also becomes a device to examine identity examining the use and reuse of this same musical repertoire as an expression of Russianness through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Founded on primary documents, my research uses methods from disciplines including reception history, nationalism, anthropology, and ethnic studies. Details about performances and choruses active in St. Petersburg, including advertisements and reviews were found in society records, music journals, and city newspapers.

My initial research took place at the National Library of Russia (NLR), the Russian State Historical Archives (RSHA), and the Central State Archive of Literature and Art (TsGALI) in St. Petersburg. Works by minor composers were located in specialized collections available in the United States, where the majority of my research occurred, including a substantial Imperial Era collections at the Library of Congress in Washington D. C., New York University, and

University of at Illinois Urbana-Champaign. The Slavic and East European Library at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign possesses the most thorough collection of Russian music journals on microfiche that serve as the core of my primary documents.

Records from choral societies survive for review, such as *Izvestiia S.-Peterburgskogo obshchestva muzykalnikh sobranii* (*Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings*, 1896–1909) and documents of members, programs, and performances from professional musical companies. I accessed company records, public newspapers, scores, and some private documents of popular Russian composers. This included the major musical journals from the period, covering publications from St. Petersburg, and references to Moscow and France. The Library of Congress possesses the most complete collection of documents out of the imperial palace from the nineteenth century, with documentation of musicians' employment, plus resident composers's scores and personal records.

Chapter Outline

The second chapter looks at an overview of choral activities happening in St. Petersburg, connecting scattered details into a schematic of the types of choral groups and its members, also situating them into social classes according to data of funding and singer salaries. Studying the use of choral music by these amateur performers supplies a broader understanding of how choral music assisted in the construction of social identifiers through performance, as well as how collective performance acted as an expression of Russianness.

The third chapter surveys critical reviews as significant to the public dialogue about music in this era. The issues central to this discussion are those of nationalism, folk music, the professional state of musicians, and musical education in Russia. In this period of musical development in Russia, three ideological groups are evident though dividing lines beween them are faulty: conservatives, progressives, and modernists. Gathering the contrasting views of these intellectual camps in the midst of print media battles expands the picture of professional life as a composer in Russia at this time. Furthering our understanding of the plurality of Russian identity as expressed during this era by various social groups, these articles and reviews voice some of the opinions of contemporary musicians. Evidence of praise and criticism help one to draw conclusions about the relationships between certain musical styles, subjects, and polarized views of folk music.

The fourth chapter features an overview of the major institutions funding the choral scene. Based in St. Petersburg, the institutions such as the Ministry of the Interior, the Imperial Court, the Imperial Geographical Society, the Russian Musical Society, and the St. Petersburg Conservatory—all of which were funded by the government—provided essential financial support to musicians and artists in late-nineteenth century Russia. The general structure of each institution, its ideological goals (if known), and those subsidizing the organization reveals underlying factors that likely influenced the compositional decisions of musicians in St. Petersburg. This chapter showcases the composers working in St. Petersburg writing new choral works, with emphasis on the lesser-known composers. With examination and analysis of their works, this chapter demonstrates the patterns of compositional devices used by each composer, revealing a variety of methods to express their own interpretation of Russianness. Better understanding of this sizeable group informs our perspective of the professional musical

environment in St. Petersburg and contributes to the still inadequate awareness of Russian composers. This investigates the funding of choral composers and the correlation of financial support to the influences on subject and style of their choral music output.

The final chapter includes conclusions about observations of identity expression as evident through performance, composition, and reception of choral music as well as possible correlations between one's socio-economic status and the construction of a variety of national identities in late-imperial St. Petersburg. The expanded framework of choral output, reception, and performance practices presented in the first four chapters serves as the basis to evaluate expressions of identity using choral music, conversely, how emerging notions about Russianness shaped choral musical style, form, and techniques.

Chapter 2: The Choral Scene in St. Petersburg: Ensembles, Repertoire, and Performance

While known for one of Europe's most elite choirs, the Imperial Court Chapel Choir, the extent of the other active choruses in St. Petersburg remains an inadequately studied facet of Russian culture. Because of the dozens of choirs operating in St. Petersburg, people of all social standings took part in choral music, either by attending public performances, in church, or as singers. This chapter looks at the entirety of activities happening in choral performance in St. Petersburg, connecting scattered details into a schematic of who participated in which groups, also situating them into social classes according to socio-economic data of funding and singer salaries.

First, looking at the types of choirs helps differentiate the roles of each performing in St. Petersburg. Comparing musical trends between social classes sheds light on the pluralities of Russianness as conveyed through the performance and reception of choral music. Through assessment of ticket prices, venues, and event invitations, the demographic of concert attendees becomes clear. Thus, by examining Russian music journals of the 1880s through early 1900s, this research considers links between social classes and identity as articulated by choral music.

Secondly, appraising repertoire sung by an ensemble demonstrates how certain music acted as Russian identifiers common amongst them all, while other selections appear unique to different groups. With the revival of works by the older generation, publication of folk songs, and newly-composed pieces, choral music served as noteworthy expression of Russian identity in this era. This is vividly depicted in articles from this time in the discussion of musical education, and issues such as censorship, publication rights, and government approvals. In summary, examining the pervasiveness of choral activities and the class of its participants expands our awareness of choral music as expression of social and cultural identity, as well as

amplifies the historical definition of nationalism in Russia. The elite choral ensembles in St. Petersburg consisted of mostly Stateensembles. The two categories include the church (sacred) and theatrical (secular) enterprises.

Two major legal issues changed the atmosphere for choral composers and performers. The reforms of 1861 changed the legally binding enforcement of societies meeting without having to gain approval for each meeting by the government, which allowed for the flourishing of new choral societies that could meet regularly and freely in both private and public spaces. This enabled growth of concert life including performances of large-scale choral-orchestral secular works, unheard before, thanks to the choral societies founded in St. Petersburg. "Independent, non-institutional choral societies whose main interest lay in secular choral singing as a cultural pursuit were practically non-existent in Russia before Alexander II's reforms of the 1860s, chiefly because a meeting of a choral society was considered an assembly, permission for which had to be obtained on every occasion from the local police."[65]

[65] Vladimir Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* (Ann Arbor, MI: M.Mus., Thesis, UMI Research Press, 1984), D.M.A., 95, note 40. *Artist* 17 (1891): 130-131; cited in Tkachev, *A. A. Arkhangel'sky*, p. 27.

Elite Level Choral Ensembles

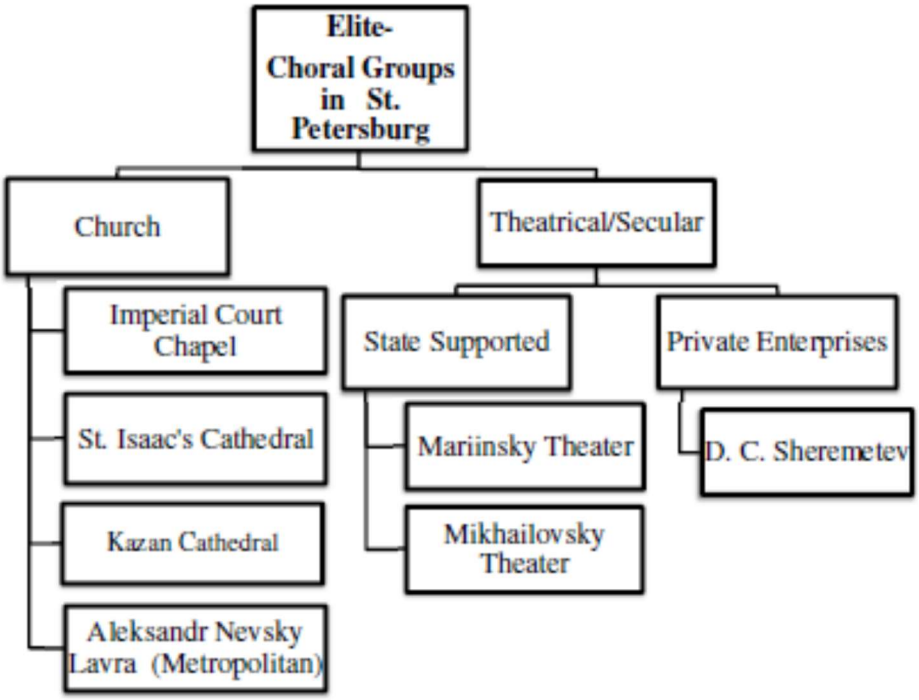

Figure 2-1: Chart of elite choral groups in St. Petersburg, organized by type.

Elite Sacred Choirs

Among the elite groups in St. Petersburg, sacred music was most highly revered and performed most often, while secular music was only represented in the theatrical setting of the opera houses, the Mariinsky, and the Mikhailovsky, with performers of the Imperial Russian Opera Company. The largest and wealthiest of these elite ensembles include those of the Imperial Court Chapel, St. Isaac's Cathedral, Kazan Cathedral, and Alexander Nevsky Lavra (also called the Metropolitan Choir). These ensembles solely performed sacred works, in both public concerts and as Orthodox service music. We will see in the second tier type choirs, the arm of State influence on choral music expanded through a vast network of churches in St. Petersburg,

remembering that all Orthodox activities at this time are under the funding and jurisdiction of the State.

Beginning with the most elite, wealthy, and highly regarded, the Imperial Court Chapel Choir (also referred to as the Kapella) earned this reputation during the early-nineteenth century in Russia, often reported to surpass its European counterparts. Attendance of the Imperial Church services was only for members of elite society. Thus, the majority of choral performances by the Imperial Court Chapel Choir was only heard by a small percentage of St. Petersburg's population including the high-ranking officials, nobility, and Imperial family. The rare public event may have been attended by middle-class citizens, but unlikely lower-class members, as these were often fundraisers requiring donations as socially prescribed for audience members. Looking at the largest of the categories, one can see the lengthy arm of influence held on choral music-making through the vast network of churches in St. Petersburg.

Remaining a fundamental representative of Russia's musical past, both folk song and the seventeenth-century choral tradition were harnassed to the needs of the state.[66] The Imperial Court Kapella not only presented extraordinary choral performances for courts and church services, but the institution functioned as a musical academy. At this time, the Court Kapella School was among the only musical institutions run by the government, primarily serving the goals of "editing and publishing music for use in the worship of the Orthodox Church."[67] General and musical education provided training to boys who graduated to be civil servants limited to working in state-run establishments, rather than becoming independent musicians qualified to free-lance or work in private institutions. After graduating from this program, young

[66] John Rink, "The Profession of Music," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 73.
[67] Rink, "The Profession of Music," 78.

men were most often forced to choose another career outside of music.[68] As a result, the only newly-produced Russian music prior to the opening of the Russian Musical Society and its subsidiaries accommodated the State and Church directly, under comprehensive supervision. This educational structure minimized Russia's ability to develop professional musicians, as well as treated musicians as socially inept and therefore inferior in social standing. Such a conflict in ideologies about higher education for musicians acted as the central divide between Russian composers of the late-nineteenth century. Musicians like Rubinstein aimed to enhance Russia's cultural tastes and abilities through instructional institutions. Others believed that institutions as such, particularly conservatories only bred replicas of those who came before, imposing bias and suppressing creativity.[69] Throughout this era of philosophical conflict about Russia's musical future, the Court Kapella maintained its place as one of the elite choirs in St. Petersburg, employing composers from both sides of the dispute.

The size of the Imperial Chapel Choir varied, from approximately 80 singers, cut to 24 under the leadership of Bortninansky at the beginning of the nineteenth century, returning to 103 members in 1836, where it remained roughly in size, through the years up to the 1905 revolutions. An article from 1910, in the *Choral and Precentor Affairs*, described the choir as reaching 128 people in the same year, made up of 38 adults and 60 boys singing in the choir, and 30 people for the nonstandard musical pieces, the part-songs (*partesnye pesni*).[70] The general choir (in this case the 38 adults and 60 boys) sang the liturgical music and chants for the ordinary sections of the service, where part-songs were only used as performance during the communion

[68] James Stuart Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press 1994), 66.
[69] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 78.
[70] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, (St. Petersburg, RU: P. A. Petrov, 1910), March, 72. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-9 for original Russian.

of the clergy.[71] The term *chelovek* here for the number of adults translates as the inclusive "man" or "human" or "people;" however, it is safe to assume at this institution, even into the early-twentieth century, only men performed in the Orthodox services, as well as the likelihood that boys supplied the higher range lines in place of women.

The Imperial choir originatied in the fifteenth century, but it was not until the eighteenth century that they earned a formidable reputation. Bortniansky (1751-1825) improved both the financial situation and raised the artistic level to exemplary status during his tenure (1795-1825), as reported in a choral journal in 1910 among others. Choral directors came from the Italian opera troupes that had been imported during Catherine II's reign (ruled 1762-1796) in the movement to implant European art and music into Russia. Regarding the Italian musicians in Russia, Morosan states that, "Through their limited involvement with Russian church music, they merely succeeded in demonstrating that the current Italianate style could be adapted in practice to choral forces without instrumental accompaniment."[72] The Italian song combined with the unaccompanied tradition of Orthodox chant implausibly resulted in the modern Russian sacred choral style. The avenue of many original compositions at this time, part-songs were also written for *a cappella* voices, because no instruments were permitted in the Russian Orthodox Church tradition for services.

Not to be overlooked, control issued to the director of the Imperial Court Chapel included the censorship of all sacred works published and performed in public or any Orthodox parish in Russia. The Imperial Codex of Laws, issued in 1846, read:

[71] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 219-20.
[72] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 220.

> New church musical compositions shall not be introduced anywhere in Orthodox churches without the prior approval of the director of the Imperial Court Chapel, while those approved shall be used only in printed form and with the permission of the Holy Synod.[73]

This remained the most powerful device of compositional tyranny from the time of Bortniansky's death in 1825 under the leadership of Fëdor Lvov (from 1825 to 1836), his son Aleksei Lvov (from 1837 to 1861), to Nikolai Bakhmetev (from 1861 to 1883). During this combined era of 58 years, less than 20 titles other than Lvov's and Bakhmetev's own works received approval for publication. Di Grazia describes the challenge faced by musicians to compose under the process of this censorship as "so intimidating that those not connected with the Chapel did not bother to submit their works for consideration."[74] This reasoning uncovers a rational explanation to the pattern of avoidance by the Russian nationalist school from writing new works for the Russian Orthodox Church. Consequently, the lack of choral output before 1883 is easily explained, especially prior to the 1861 reforms, when the majority of active choruses in Russia performed in Orthodox churches and State institutions.

Additionally, leaders in the Church raised concerns about the consistency of music between parishes due to a lack of centralized training for precentors. In the Orthodox tradition, precentors led chants from the Liturgy for Orthodox services, as well as trained and led the chorus of their parish in part-singing as fitting for the communion, and other events outside of the church service (weddings, funerals, etc.). Under Lvov's leadership, the Imperial Court implemented a precentor's class to train parish leaders, aimed at eliminating such irregularities of performance. In her text on the Russian Court Chapel Choir, Dunlop expressed the power exerted by the Court through its musicians: "He [Lvov] established courses for precentors or

[73] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 81.
[74] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 17.

choir masters for church and regimental choirs (also strengthening Kapella's influence over the development of church music in general)."[75] In support of Lvov's project, an *Ukaz* (a proclamation that had the power of law) issued by the Holy Synod in 1847, declared that all singing teachers and precentors wishing to work professionally in the church must earn a certificate from the Court Kapella. Additionally, re-examination was required every four years to ensure the update of changes to the church *Obikhod* for precentors to renew their certificates.[76]

The Kapella performed mostly for sacred purposes at customary services in the Winter Palace and high feast days, but increased its involvement in public concerts in St. Petersburg, particularly through the participation with the *Sankt-Peterburgskoe filarmonicheskoe obshestvo* (St. Petersburg Philharmonic Society) from the years 1802-1850. Significant performances of works such as Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, Jomelli's *La passione de Gesu Cristo*, Johann Hasse's setting of *Salve Regina*, Carl Henrich Graun's *Te Deum*, and Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, drew large crowds, usually with the purpose of raising money for various charities. Benefits for local funds, societies, and other causes often served as the purpose for choral concerts, such as the *Kassa muzykalnykh vdov i sirot* (Benefit fund for the widows and orphans of musicians), and the Women's Patriotic Society. For public performances, the Imperial Kapella collaborated with musical societies, most often the Philharmonic Society, and the Society of Music Lovers to which Vladimir Stasov refers to here.[77] In 1856, Stasov reported:

> From the very beginning of the founding of the Concert Society, from the very first concerts, given by them in 1850, these concerts occupied the very highest place in the opinion and respect of our public. It would not have entered anyone's head to compare

[75] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 18.
[76] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 18. The *Obikhod* is a collection of polyphonic chants for both liturgical and psalm settings in the Russian Orthodox tradition dating to the sixteenth century.
[77] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 89.

> them with the other concerts heard here – so striking is the difference between them and all the rest of our concerts.[78]

Conductors from these types of concerts in the early 1800s included Guillaume-Alexis Paris, Karl Albrekht, and Ludwig Maurer, all non-Russian musicians. Bortniansky's work with the choristers received outstanding reviews by contemporary commentators such as:

> Ivan Dolgoruky wrote of them: What gentle voices! What music! What expression on the face of each of them! Each not only takes up the music and raises his voice. He feels strong emotion, raises himself up, delight animates his features.[79]

Another critic Jacob von Stählin agreed that:

> It seems impossible to imagine a more perfect or splendid choir than the choir of the Imperial Court Chapel.[80]

This pattern continued into the second half of the century, as considered extensively in the text by Dunlop, *Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*. Even with such success, it was not until the directorship of Aleksei Lvov from 1837-1861 that choral singers first received systematic music education. Together at the Imperial Court, Lvov and Glinka created new standards for training, new rehearsal schedules, and implemented studies that required the analyzing of scales, and other exercises with the goal of improving listening and thus intonation.[81] Lvov gained his high position thanks to his personal closeness with Emperor Nikolai I, for whom he wrote the anthem, "*Bozhe, tsaria khrani*" ("God Save the Tsar") in 1833. Glinka was similarly rewarded with his position in the Court Chapel for his opera *Zhizn za tsaria* (*A Life for the Tsar*, 1836). Musical influence from Lvov's travels as a professional violinist can be seen in the performance repertoire of the Kapella. Regarding Lvov's musical preferences, Morosan writes:

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[78] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 91-92.
[79] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 87.
[80] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 87.
[81] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 16.

> In the course of his travels with the Emperor he met the leading European musicians of his time including Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Spontini, and Fétis, and received numerous awards and honorary memberships from various Western European musical academies. Predictably, his musical orientation and tastes were totally Western European, with a strong predilection for German Romanticism; throughout his life he remained totally estranged from the concerns and achievements of the emerging nationalist movement in Russian music. [82]

Repertoire performed by the chorus verifies this statement about Lvov's directorship. The music performed during his 24 years of leadership included the chorus from Handel's oratorio *Judas Maccabeus*, choruses from Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, excerpts from the oratorios of Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and Berlioz, along with opera scenes by Gluck. These concerts gained the reputation as the highlight of the St. Petersburg concert season. Only gathering for two or three rehearsals for each concert, only the best-trained performers earned invitations to perform to maintain the acclaimed standard of performance.[83] The infiltration of German and Italian styles is evident in the musical characteristics of Orthodox part-songs, which is examined in more detail in chapter 4. To be noted here, is that the interest in the German tradition directly contrasted with the nationalist camp who vehemently opposed musicians such as Anton Rubinstein, and that of the St. Petersburg Conservatory for their imitation of Germanic musical style.

Other prominent figures in musical criticism, such as Alexander Serov and Vladimir Stasov wrote complimentary reviews on the elevated standard of performance and quality of musicians during the 1850s and 1860s. Positive reviews reflect not only the popularity of these concerts, but also the demand for admittance to these performances. For public performances, the Imperial Court Chapel Choir performed at the Engelhardt concert hall, which later became the

[82] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 78.
[83] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 91.

Small Hall of the St. Petersburg Conservatory.[84] The Small Hall with limited capacity for seating, combined with extraordinarily high ticket prices, guaranteed a select audience. In comparison to the Russian opera tickets of half a ruble, the Kapella charged ten rubles for three concerts (more than six times the cost of the opera). Besides the regular attendees of grand dukes, duchesses, and the tsar, the rest of the audience contained members of the aristocracy, military, and civil officials, as well as Lvov's personal acquaintances.[85] The influence of Lvov's preference for German musicians is prevalent, particularly that of the First Viennese School (Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven).

A change in leadership in the Imperial Court seemed to be detrimental to the training of the Chapel's boy singers. Morosan describes the decline of the Imperial Court's dominant status as the producer of sacred music: "Once the most active choral ensemble in St. Petersburg, by the end of Bakhmetev's administration in 1882 the Chapel had ceased to make regular concert appearances."[86] The decline of the Imperial Court Chapel Kapella as the leading choral ensemble in St. Petersburg left a space for the rise of other institutional and private choruses, which is examined in the second-tier ensembles. Rimsky-Korsakov described the state of the singers after their neglect by Bakhmetev, his predecessor:

> The illiterate boys, oppressed and ill-mannered, trained only so-so on the violin, cello, or piano, suffered an unfortunate fate upon voice mutation… They were dismissed from the Chapel into the outside world, ignorant, and untrained for any work. Most often they became scribes, house servants, provincial choristers, or under the best circumstances, uneducated precentors or minor bureaucrats…[87]

[84] While the Engelhardt family housed concerts in their home for decades, Vasily Engelhardt took an especially active interest in Russian art, history, and music. He contributed to the publication of Glinka's manuscripts, and memoirs of his own memories with Glinka, with whom he was a close friend. Stephen Walsh, *Musorgsky and His Circle: A Russian Musical Adventure* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 135.
[85] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 92.
[86] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 97.
[87] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 81.

Continuing in this pattern, Stepan Smolensky reported of the neglect of the singers at the Imperial Court Chapel under the leadership of Anton Arensky after a concert in 1896:

> We were indeed very unpleasantly surprised by what we heard and saw at the Imperial Court Kapella. The constricted children's voices, the hoarseness of the octavists, insufficient purity of intonation, and an insufficient range in all types of nuances, surprised us no less unpleasantly than the works we heard performed (common chants).[88]

It was no surprise to Smolensky of the choir's difficulties when he procured the directorship of the Imperial Court Chapel in 1901 at the end of Arensky's tenure. With the appointment of several new staff members (Alexander Chesnokov, Pavel Tolskaia, and Maksim Klimov), Smolensky succeeded in the correction of technical issues in the training of singing, at least reestablishing the reputation of the choir with decent reviews. In 1902, Nikolai Kompaneisky observed the improvement:

> It cannot go unremarked that a certain refinement may be observed in the performance of the Kapella. The singing is more fluent, more assured, and the voices, especially the tenors, sound lighter. Evidently the singers do not restrict themselves to learning their parts, but also train the voices in the art of singing.[89]

A concert in 1901 of the Court orchestra and chorus performed new works of large-scale proportions: Alexander Glazunov's *Coronation Cantata* and *La conjuration des fleurs* by Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray (1840-1910) for chorus, soloists, and orchestra. This anonymous review comes from the journal *Contemporary Musical Theater*:

> The program of the second public concert of the orchestra of the court included the play by L. Bourgault-Ducoudray "La Conjuration des fleurs" (the satirical drama) and Alexander Glazunov's "Coronation Cantata." Bourgault-Ducoudray is known more for his scholarly works on collecting Modern Greek and Breton folk tunes, rather than on his composing talent. The latter is clearly shown in a characteristic and interesting harmonization of these tunes, which are collections made up with a thorough knowledge of the matter, is very popular among professionals and other music lovers. From the

[88] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 102.
[89] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 103.

> writings of Bourgault-Ducoudray first introduced us to Ms. Valley in one of the concerts of the court orchestra at the beginning of 1899, singing his "Melancholia," which is in a beautiful, Oriental style. Besides, the court orchestra had the task of popularizing the now larger work Bourgault-Ducoudray. "La conjuration des fleurs" appeared for the first time in Paris on January 27, 1883; the texture of the songs is simple and clear, but there were quite a few performers who struggled with technical difficulties; the music is not always easily digestible. In general, the piece is elegant and grandiose. "Coronation Cantata" of Glazunov has all the features of his enormous compositional talent; the harmonization is juicy, orchestration is colorful and dense, and at the same time everywhere accentuates vocals. The melodic pattern is different, but always clear and understandable. At times, notably brow-raising – the mood of introspection wins out. The exception to this is the first chorus, written with great panache, and the wonderful prayer, artistically executed by Chuprynnikovym. The complete lack of raised intensity to the finale was not to blame on the orchestral performance. Were not the pace and subtleties nuances of the remaining pieces of Bourgault-Ducoudray (conducted by the talented Werlich) worthy of all praise?[90]

The performance of new works in place of the older, established sacred repertoire, illuminates a shift in mentality of the Imperial Court leadership under Smolensky to adapt to the surrounding musical trends. An obvious choice, Glazunov's cantata, commissioned for a State event showed the splendor of Russian national music. The satirical play, written to music by a French conservatory faculty member clearly reflected the tastes of the contemporary nobility who were fascinated with French language, art, and literature, more than that of the Russian commoner. This trend also acted as a status symbol of elite culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This single concert, however, is not representative of the entirety of concerts performed under Smolensky. His musicological research focused on Russian chant, which he used and practiced in his career by writing and directing choruses in this style, such as while director of the Moscow Synodal Choir. Another change in the course of leadership is conveyed in the positive response of the public concert that took place in 1909:

[90] *Muzykalno-teatralnyĭ sovremennik (Contemporary Musical Theater)*, (St. Petersburg, RU: E. N. Borman, 1901), May No. 20, 2-3. Translated by author. See Appendix A: B-2 for original Russia.

> Impressions of the spiritual concerts. Announcing – the usual time for spiritual concerts; November 21 concert of the Sampson folk choir; December 1 Circle of Church Music Lovers singing at the Brotherhood of the Blessed Virgin Mary; December 2 Choir of the Court Chapel, and on December 6 the combined Choir of 500 of the Choral Society. Of course, such an abundance of concerts was reflected in the attendance by the public. So, even a concert of the Court Chapel did not receive attendance of a full hall, which is a pity, because the concert was outstanding among others thanks to its original program and quality performance. With this, let us begin sharing these experiences. The program of the concert consisted of 10 numbers.
>
> 1. "The Cherubic Hymn" No. 3 by Bogdanov
> 2. "Lord, Now Lettest Thou Depart" No. 1. by Castalia
> 3. "Worthy are You" from the collection by A. A. Obolensky
> 4. "Fathoms" by Noskov
> 5. "Peace on Earth" and "To You I Sing" by Tcherepnin
> 6. "Inspire Oh God (My Prayer)" by Grechaninov
> 7. "Who is this Pervading" (Recital of Wedding) by Kastalsky
> 8. "Lord I Have Cried" and a Dogmatist[91] for two voices by P. G. Chesnokov
> 9. "Noble Joseph" by Lottie[92]
> 10. "In Thy Kingdom" by A. G. Chesnokov
>
> The majority of these numbers, the choir performed for the first time, some of them were novelties for St. Petersburg. The interest and originality of the program therefore was quite clear. The Kapella, for a long while did not give concerts with such a new program, which deserves our heartfelt appreciation. "Behold the Bridegroom" is a pretty piece by Noskov, a novice author, whose name is found on the religious concerts for the first time. Boldly written and reasonably mature, the product is not completely original, but undoubtedly shows the serious aspirations of the young author. Of the borrowings and imitation, he only refers to such authors as Kastalsky and Grechaninov, which is not a sin on the part of a novice composer. A more specific review of Noskov will be postponed until the next performances. He shows much promise.[93]

By 1910, the size of the Kapella grew to its largest number of members, also reaching the highest salaries of all paid church musicians at this time, by nearly double that of the next best-paid ensemble at St. Isaac's Cathedral. All boy singers were required to study at the precentor's school and received housing during their time of studies. A yearly stipend for singers and leaders

[91] The dogmatist is a chant in the liturgy of the Orthodox Church in praise of the Virgin Mary, in this case arranged into a hymn for two voices.
[92] It is possible that this piece comes out of a sacred work by the Baroque era Italian composer Antonio Lotti (1667-1740), but it is unclear from this announcement.
[93] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, (St. Petersburg, RU: P. A. Petrov, 1909), July & Aug. No. 7 & 8, 302. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-4 for original Russian.

was divided as follows for members of the Imperial Kapella. The precentor received 2,250 rubles, and 750 rubles for an apartment (except travel), the assistants received 2,500 rubles (with apartment), the preacher 1,200 rubles, and 450 rubles for their apartment. The adult singers were grouped into three categories of stipends. The first category of allowance, 12 people received 1,000 rubles, 450 rubles for an apartment, and a onetime award of 166 rubles. In the second category of allowance, 12 people received 900 rubles, 450 for an apartment and heating, and a onetime aware of 150 rubles. The third category of allowance, 12 people received 750 rubles, and 450 rubles for an apartment and heating, with a single award of 125 rubles. These salaries far surpass that of any other choir active in St. Petersburg, which breaks down to monthly payments of approximately 250 rubles for the precentor, 200 for each assistant, and each tier of stipends for adult singers at 135 rubles, 125 rubles, and 100 rubles respectively. These salaries alone positioned the Imperial Kapella and its singers far above any other in the city. The State demonstrated its value of these employees as a significant representation of the elite form of Russian culture at this time.

This chart shows a comparison of the wealthiest, largest choruses to the smaller parishes, the number of choristers, and their salaries per month (see Table 2-1). As quoted from the 1910 article, the rate of approximately 6 to 12 rubles a month is "less than that of the Church janitor."[94] From another article on singer's salaries, 30-40 rubles per month was considered "not good," but livable.[95] Within just these 16 churches examined, chorus size and salaries vary greatly.

[94] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, April 1910, 100. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-14 for original Russian.
[95] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, April 1910, 101. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-15 for original Russian.

Stratification of Choral Singers among Orthodox Churches in 1910

Cathedral	Number of Chorus Members-1910	Gender	Salaries Per Month
Imperial Court Chapel	128	Male	Adults: 100-135 rubles, in addition to housing
Alexander Nevsky Lavra	100	Male	Unknown, in addition to housing
St. Isaac's Cathedral	50-70	Male	Adults: 60 rubles, in addition to housing
Our Lady of Kazan Cathedral	50-60	Male	Adults: 30-40 rubles
Trinity Cathedral (Izmailovsky regiment)	77	Mixed	Lower Rank: None Civilians: 25-40 rubles
Smolny Cathedral	___	___	15-40 rubles
Chapel of St. Spyridon of Trimythous (Finliandsky Regiment)	___	Mixed	Adults: 20-40 rubles Girls/Boys: 8-15 rubles
Church of St. Mary Magdalene	9	Mixed	13 rubles
Church of St. Simeone	11	Mixed	Men: 15-25 rubles Women: 6-25 rubles
The Transfiguration of the Synodal Monastery	8	Mixed/Male	10-12 rubles
Church of All Saints	27	Mixed	Women: 5-7 rubles Men: Unknown
Church of the Savior on Sennaia	~20	Mixed	___
Church of the Annunciation	~20	Mixed	___
Church of the Mining Institute	~20	Mixed	___
Church of St. Elijah	18	Mixed	Adults: 3-8 rubles Girls: 50 kopeks-9 rubles Boys: 50 kopeks-5 rubles
Holy Cross Community of Sisters of Mercy	___	___	Adults: 6-12 rubles Children: None

Table 2-1: Chart of St. Petersburg churches, number of chorus members, gender construction, and pay scales.

The stratification of singers spans members of the lowest, peasant class to what was approximately the reaching of a middle to upper-middle-class citizen, according to these salaries and accommodations. A monthly income of 3-8 rubles per month was not nearly sufficient for a living wage, thus it is easily concluded that these singers supplemented their income with other

work, or that the duty of performing in the church was only a complement to their full-time employment. Either way, the time left to commit for training and rehearsal was minimal for the singers of this demographic. Illuminating the struggle of musicians to gain any higher social status than that of a peasant, even the choristers of the Smolny Cathedral, Trinity Cathedral (Izmailovsky regiment), and Our Lady of Kazan Cathedral received salaries considered unreasonable for living expenses in St. Petersburg at this time. These cathedrals, especially the Kazan Cathedral and St. Isaac's Cathedral functioned as the most influential cathedrals accessible to the public outside of the Imperial Court. Yet, their singers were paid drastically less.

Precentors generally received higher salaries than chorus members, as well as housing when other chorus members were not afforded this accommodation. However, at small parishes, precentor incomes were comparable to that of chorus members of larger church locations.[96] As seen in the chart of precentor's salaries, even some of these could not have survived on a director position alone (see Table 2-2). Due to the minimal salary given to singers in these positions, it was common practice that individuals sang in multiple choirs to supplement a livable income. A single performer may have sung at numerous churches for services not overlapping in time, or for evening Vespers, as well as for daily services that needed small groups for leading chant. Precentors and directors at these churches had very little power over the choice of music performed, which was dictated to them by the clergy, thus mostly reflecting the taste of the Orthodox institution and Russian government. Through this network of regular performances, the State disseminated their portrayal of Russian national music.

[96] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, April 1910, 101. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-15 for original Russian.

Salaries of Precentors in Orthodox Churches in 1910

Location	**Position Title**	**Salary Per Month**
Imperial Court Chapel	Precentor	250 rubles
Chapel of St. Spyridon of Trimythous (Finliandsky Regiment)	Precentor	70 rubles
Church of St. Alexander Nevsky (Naval hospital)	Precentor	20-25 rubles
Holy Cross Community of the Sisters of Mercy	Choir Director	40 rubles
Church of St. Sisters of Mercy	Precentor	40 rubles
Church of St. Elijah	Precentor	23 rubles
Transfiguration of the Synodal Monastery	Choir Director	30-32 rubles
Greek Embassy Church	Precentor	15 rubles

Table 2-2: Chart of St. Petersburg churches and monthly salaries of choral leaders, with specific titles.

Churches were not exempt from financial struggles, as can be seen in this report from the *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo* (*Choral and Precentor Affairs*) article:

> On May 10 at the Church of the Brotherhood of the Saints, Seraphim of Sarov, on the Narva Gate, during the service the majority of choir singers stopped singing and demonstratively left the church. There was a long pause; the remaining few singers ended the service. The incident took place on the grounds of the choir member's dissatisfaction about the priest B. Kleandrovym allegedly holding a large portion of money that was supposed to be issued to members of the choir, or some kind of equivalent compensation for their performances. When a church encounters such an issue, a secondary choir is brought in to perform church services. The precentor of both choirs remains Bashkirov.[97]

Later in the same article, the author also described the repertoire as divided into two groups of composers. The "old school" composers included Galuppi, Sarti, Bortniansky, Lvov, Bakhmetev, and Lomakin, and the contemporary authors as Grechaninov, Ippolitov-Ivanov, and Kastalsky.

[97] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, May & June 1910, 140. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-18 for original Russian.

Performances in the most recent years reflected less interest in the older generation composer, performing new choral works in their concerts.[98]

Understanding the power and influence of the Court Kapella among public musical spheres and the extensive Orthodox Church choral systems into the middle of the nineteenth century, with the loosening of censorship later in the century sheds light on the flourishing in the 1880s of choral music composition and performance. Reflecting this shift, Morosan describes that "other choral ensembles – Arkhangel'skiĭ's Choir and the choir of the Mariinsky Opera Theater – assumed leading roles in choral performances."[99] These groups are discussed more in depth later in the chapter.

The other elite choral groups functioning in St. Petersburg, not surprisingly, were the other wealthy Russian cathedrals: St. Isaac's Cathedral, Kazan Cathedral, and Alexander Nevsky Lavra.[100] St. Petersburg citizens were still basking in the glory of the recently opened St. Isaac's cathedral in 1858, which had taken 40 years to complete. Great pride surrounded the accomplishment of the world's largest Orthodox basilica at this time. Construction costs of the cathedral totaled an incredible sum of 25 million gold rubles when completed.[101] St. Isaac's Cathedral became the main diocesan cathedral in the capital in 1858. For regular weekly services, only upper-class members attended. The expansive cathedral was used for large public gatherings like coronations and funerals, as well as for smaller occasions like private weddings for the wealthy nobility and royal family. Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the cathedral maintained a choir between the size of 50-70 members. Reported in 1910,

[98] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 72. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-10 for original Russian.
[99] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 97.
[100] A lavra is a type of monastery consisting of multiple buildings for the Orthodox hermits, along with a church building, and refectory.
[101] Lincoln, *Sunlight at Midnight: St. Petersburg and the Rise of Modern Russia*, III.

the choir was made up of 18 trebles, 12 altos, 8 tenors, and 12 basses, making 50 total.[102] The choristers received not only a salary, but also expense-free living quarters.[103] An article from *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo* (*Choral and Precentor Affairs*) from 1909 described the rehearsal environment:

> You should have seen the kind of love demonstrated in the rehearsals, truly emphasizing the vast importance of the Church singing as vital to the success of their internal mission. Practice was mostly on weekdays after work, in the evenings lasting from 8 in the evening until 11 at night some days, at the insistence of the participants. Mostly from the intelligentsia, people were drunk and old and small, men and women who participated…It was touching to see mother and nanny with children in one hand, and a book and a piece of candle in the other, singing earnestly, trying to follow exactly the instructions of the precentor.[104]

The same article illustrated the scene on the day of the celebration:

> Despite the rain and the later time for rehearsals, people travelled all the way from the outskirts of the capital. Some, for fear of being late, came to the cathedral directly from the factories, on the road, with stocks of grain and honey for their dinner. St. Isaac's Cathedral can accommodate more than 17,000 people and is filled once, twice a year – only on the great feasts. But this time it was feared it could not accommodate all the singers. Indeed, at choir practice were only 7 or 8 thousand, but on November 1 the cathedral was filled so full that the police were forced to stop the entrance to it. Inside, the church was hot and the walls were wet. St. Isaac's Cathedral stood with its immensity and domes soaring high above! St. Isaac's Choir singers of 70 people sang a litany alone; the rest of the singing included all the people. Amazingly, this breathtaking singing included almost 20,000 people. It seemed impossible to manage such a chorus, but in reality, they sang with strict discipline. However, comparing them with the choir of St. Isaac's singing seemed miserable. Honor and glory to the psalm-readers of the capital and especially the general head of the singing, the priest Michael Dubensky! Honor and glory to the Missionary Council, which is widely developed in recent years with all its activities among the common people![105]

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[102] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 142.
[103] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, April 1910, 101. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-15 for original Russian.
[104] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, July & Aug. 1909, 289. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-3 for original Russian.
[105] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, July & Aug., 289. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-3 for original Russian.

A testimony to the consistently high-level quality of St. Isaac's choir, the precentor also at the Alexander Nevsky Lavra, Grigori Lvovsky (1830-1894) earned his degree from the St. Petersburg Conservatory. Appointed to the Lavra in 1856 and St. Isaac's in 1858, Lvovsky served in both positions for the remainder of his life, 38 and 36 years, respectively. Lvovsky primarily composed sacred works based on Slavic chant, with about 12 other freely-composed sacred pieces for chorus.[106] St. Isaac's Cathedral choir held a stable, substantial example of Russian sacred music performance in the second half of the nineteenth century. Unlike the Imperial Court's choir, the ensemble of this enormous structure would have been heard by a wider collection of people at least on occasion, expanding beyond the limited elite audiences of the royal court.

Similarly, the Kazan Cathedral (more formally called Our Lady of Kazan Cathedral) renumerated choristers with both an apartment and salary. From its consecration in 1811, a choir of approximately 25 men and boys were retained. These singers, recruited from seminary and religious schools, remained the standard until 1888. Under the warden N. F. Heiden, the choir was increased to 35 people, and with the expansion of property for living spaces reached 50 members in 1898. Also, the pupils previously filling the singing positions were replaced with a civilian choir, and paid from the income of the cathedral. In 1910, Kazan Cathedral's chorus included 23 trebles, 12 altos, 11 tenors, and 15 basses, making 60 total, comparable to that of St. Isaac's Cathedral. Known at the time for reputable choral compositions, this chorus was directed by A. Fateev (1886-1891), followed by his son, V. P. Fateev in 1894 after his graduation from the Conservatory.[107] Adult singers were housed in official quarters with complimentary heating and lighting, while the boys received separate boarding at the four-year public school. The clergy

[106] Dennis Shrock, *Choral Repertoire* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 506.
[107] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, Feb. 1910, No. 2, 42. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-8 for original Russian.

and elders of this cathedral performed the administrative needs of the choir. An article from the *Choral and Precentor Affairs* gives the picture of such living arrangement:

> We see a more normal economic situation in the Kazan Cathedral. There is no treasury desk, but the singer is secured an apartment and a certain salary. However, the salary from 30 to 40 rubles is not great, but in modern terms of how we observe singing in the home, it is more or less satisfactory. While government-owned houses are not entitled, if you take into account housing prices in the Okhta district (near the Church), then the result is a salary of approximate to what others received in the Cathedral. Although, in this case, one should mention that the apartment rate is a conditional element. It is better conditions than anywhere else (except the choristers of St. Isaac's Cathedral), as they receive not only a certain fee, but also an apartment, and such. As for the other choirs, such as K. K. Biryucheva, D. F. Yakovlev, the Izmailovsky regiment, Smolny Cathedral, etc., there are no state-owned apartments, and the salaries of singers ranging from 15 to 40 rubles should not be recognized as enough to live in St. Petersburg. It is clear that from this economic position of church singers involuntarily pay attention to the Court Chapel, where as we have seen, every singer has quite decent reward, in terms of the current conditions in church choirs. Receiving within the third rank 750 rubles, i.e. more than 60 rubles per month plus a supplement of 125 rubles in a year and the state apartments. The court singer need not to worry about tomorrow. It is the officer's duty to determine their financial and social situation. Therefore, they have no need, like his counterpart who has to escort corpses down the St. Petersburg streets regardless of the weather to earn his 30-40 ruble salary.[108]

The same article lists the salaries of singers from other parishes in St. Petersburg:

> The precentor at the Church of St. Alexander Nevsky (St. Naval hospital) earns only 20-25 rubles per month. The choir director of Holy Cross Community of the Sisters of Mercy earns 40 rubles per month, the precentor of the Community of Sisters of Mercy – 40 rubles per month, the Church of St. Elijah – 23 rubles, the Transfiguration choir director of the Synodal Monastery – 30-32 rubles, and the precentor of the Greek Embassy Church – 15 rubles per month.[109]

This even references some who are paid nothing at all:

> I suppose that in St. Petersburg there are many churches where the precentors, like that of the Church of St. Simeone – receive nothing at all. However, there are cases when the precentor not only spends his paycheck on the needs of the choir, but also supplements

[108] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, April 1910, 101. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-15 for original Russian.
[109] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, April 1910, 101. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-15 for original Russian.

> from their own personal finances. An example of this is the precentor of the Greek Embassy Church. These are the conditions necessary to oblige workers to Church singing, to oblige him of the splendor and finally artistry to meet the demands of the times. [110]

The Kazan Cathedral chorus did not perform independent public concerts, other than for the purpose of charitable causes. An article from February of 1910 describes the repertoire of this chorus as extensive, performing works by composers such as Bortniansky to Pulaski, numbering 60 different composers, Bortninansky, Lvov, and Tuchaninov as the most dominant figures.[111] The Kazan Cathedral was most often the location for state commemorations, likely due to the vast size of the cathedral and its close proximity to the Winter Palace.[112] St. Isaac's, also large, similarly served for sizable public gatherings, and Peter and Paul Cathedral for smaller occasions like private weddings.

Sacred Music as an Indication of Upper Class and State Influence

In comparison to Moscow, which remained the symbol of Orthodox Russia, many religions were represented in St. Petersburg during this period. Catholic and Lutheran churches, a mosque, an Armenian church, and a Jewish synagogue, also stood among the numerous Orthodox cathedrals.[113] However, in regards to the performance of the old and inspiration for the new Russian sacred music, Orthodox churches dominated the musical milieu. Within this array of groups, the singers represented a variety of experiences. The highest-ranking choirs employed

[110] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, April 1910, 102. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-16 for original Russian.
[111] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, Feb. 1910, 42. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-8 for original Russian.
[112] Lindsey Hughes, Robin Milner-Gulland, and Simon Dixon, "The Cathedral of SS Peter and Paul," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 88, no. 1/2 (2010): 39.
[113] Gritsai and Van der Wusten, "Moscow and St. Petersburg, a Sequence of Capitals, a Tale of Two Cities," 37.

only professional singers, who solely performed for a living, whether with just one choir, or by working for multiple choirs to make a decent living. The middle ranking parishes in terms of expenditures on music employed well-known precentors with well-paid part-time musicians, who required supplementation of income in some other fashion, either through work as some kind of merchant or factory laborer. With exception of the four most elite status professional choirs in prestigious churches, precentors generally received salaries sufficient to live on comfortably, with housing accommodations to supplement. However, some of the smaller churches paid their precentors little to nothing at all to run their amateur chorus. Incomes for choristers vary greatly from 60 rubles to 3 rubles a month for adults and from 9 rubles to 50 kopeks per month for children. Some singers were paid nothing. Most often children, some of whom were documented as orphans, received housing and studied under the parish free of charge. Only those adults employed in the elite choirs of the Imperial Court Chapel, St. Isaac's, Kazan Cathedral, and Alexander Nevsky Lavra also received housing benefits and additional awards. Regarding gender, mixed groups usually differentiated the payment rate between male and female, women making less than their male counterparts in adult choruses. Reversal of financial payment is seen in mixed groups with young girls and boys. Girls received more money, due to the lower rate of turnover for training young girls than boys. Young boys were more limited in their years as performers due to the voice change that occurs with puberty, thus causing the expense of newly-trained singers.

Repertoire performed within the sphere of cathedrals and parishes is well prescribed as seen by the patterns in composers between locations. Most regularly performed are works by Bortniansky, Lvov, Tuchaninov, Vedel, Bakhmetev, and Arkhangelsky, and to a lesser extent Lomakin, Grechaninov, Ippolitov-Ivanov, Kastalsky, Fateev, Chaikovsky, Degtiarev, Grigoriev,

and Lirin. Other composers mentioned once each are Zhdanov, Zaitsev, F. Ivanov, Kopylov, Panchenko, Rubsta, Orlov, and Strokin.

In an anonymous article, an author confirms the many other statements of popularly performed composers, not only in articles, but seen in the concert reviews and announcements. Without knowing the author of this article, it is difficult to judge the motivation in choosing these composers as the representatives of commonly performed music in the Russian Orthodox Church. The following chart shows composers in order of the degree of consumer awareness of their works as described by an anonymous author of 1910 *Choral and Precentor Affairs* article:

> Let us now see how the repertoire of the St. Petersburg choir meets the requirements of time and generally, at what level of cost the choral affairs in the capital. From the above list of composers performed we have seen that the repertoire of the Court Chapel and St. Isaac's Cathedral are mostly composers of the old school, with some exceptions to certain circumstances. Here, of course, one cannot ignore the impact of the environmental sphere in which tradition builds a strong nest. With regards to other choirs, their repertoire is much larger and more diverse. It goes without saying that no choir is complete without Bortniansky, Lvov, and Turchaninov, and if anyone can compete with them in popularity, these would be Arkhangelsky, and Chaikovsky. Further, according to the degree of consumer awareness of the works, the authors shall be distributed in the following order.[114]

[114] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 102. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-13 for original Russian.

Russian Composers of Sacred Music Ranked by Popularity

First	Bortniansky, Lvov, and Turchaninov
Second	Vinogradov, Arkhangelsky, and Chaikovsky
Third	Bakhmetev, Vedel, Degtiarev, Kastalsky, and Chesnokov
Fourth	Grechaninov, Davydov, Ippolitov-Ivanov, and Fateev
Fifth	Berezovsky, Lomakin, Panchenko, Rimsky-Korsakov, Strokin and Sarti
Sixth	Vorotnikov, Goltison, Lirin, and Soloviev
Seventh	Galuppi, Grigorev, Kompaneisky, Kopylov, Lisitsyn, Orlov, and Solomin
Eighth	Aseev, Allemanov, Arensky, Benevsky, Vifliaev, Golitsyn, Zhdanov, Ivanov, Izvekov, Kalinnikov, Lavrov, Poluektov, and Smolensky

Table 2-3: Order of choral composers as recognized by the public.[1]

From within the concert announcements of these churches, and listings of composers regularly performed, this chart shows us the domination of Russian musicians in the sphere of sacred performances (see Table 2-3). Additionally interesting is the lack of French musicians, contrary to the popularity of French culture among the Russian nobility in the eighteenth century, which seemed to be fading in intensity.

Confirming the conclusions of this anonymous author, a previous article in the same journal describes the most popular repertoire as categorized into two groups of composers. "The old school composers include Galuppi, Sarti, Bortniansky, Lvov, Bakhmetev, Lomakin, etc., and the contemporary authors as Grechaninov, Ippolitov-Ivanov, and Kastalsky. To which, the recent years reflect less interest in the older generation composer, performing new choral works in their concerts."[2] Within the walls of the Orthodox parishes, Russian musicians dominated the regularly performed repertoire. The music from outside of Russia appears to be only by composers of Italian nationality.

[1] This chart is derived from the text in the original article: *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March, 1910, 102. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-13 for original Russian.
[2] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 72. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-10 for original Russian.

The music journals of this time described the ensembles of these churches according to numbers of members, finances, living arrangements, and repertoire. However, there is very little discussion in the form of concert reviews or speculation on the quality of performances by these ensembles. Public performances of the Imperial Court Chapel Choir received personal responses about a moving performance and such, but the assessment of part-singing taking place in cathedrals and parishes does not occur. While seemingly minor, this does reflect the reverence of the journal authors and editors towards the singing of these choirs as intended for worship, and not merely for entertainment, thus not warranting technical evaluation. This did not include the Imperial Kapella. They were treated more as a professional choir in their public performances. Contrarily, reviews of public performance called for skepticism of musical selections, technical abilities, and vocal qualities, including both sacred and secular works in regards to non-church-affiliated ensembles. Observation of the church choirs as reported in the contemporary journals primarily states the nature of the repertoire performed in these settings, rather than criticism of performing technique or director's abilities. A good deal of discussion appeared regarding the state of church music and of music education during this era. Governmental pressure and control was surely a factor in the absence of criticism in the public reporting of church performances.

Through the extensive network of church parishes and cathedrals in St. Petersburg, the State effectively displayed Russian sacred music as written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the most elevated and revered musical tradition in the nation. Through the centralized training of musical leaders at the Imperial Court they standardized not only the selections of music performed in each church, but also maintained power over the performance practices and pedagogical techniques as prescribed for the chorus members. The shared activity of singing, strengthened by the additional commonalities across multiple parishes would have

increased a sense of belonging for both the members of the chorus and those who heard services. In the event of attending services at multiple parishes, which was likely during travels, as well as for singers who worked at more than one parish in their career, solidarity could be found in the familiarity of standardized practices, connecting an individual to a larger body of Russian community. These cultural experiences create a more powerful sense of belonging and pride within a social group. Sacred music singing in the Orthodox churches in St. Petersburg functioned as not only a vehicle of religious ritual, but also as a tool for creating a broader sense of community amongst Russians, contributing to the State's goals for autocracy and nationhood.

From the ensembles performing under the auspices of government-backed institutions, performances included works by the composers ordained by the State as the Russian national style (Borniantsky, Berezovsky, Vedel, Titov, and Dargomyzhsky) along with some sacred works by European composers. These generally drew from the style of the Baroque and Classical Eras, avoiding the aesthetics of the Romantic Era with only a few exceptions (Berlioz and Fétis). Composers from the European traditions included Pergolesi, Graun, Jomelli, Hasse, and Beethoven. While some operatic scenes and excerpts of foreign composers were performed (Mozart, Haydn, Gluck, and Beethoven) other large-scale choral works remained in the sacred tradition. With the decline in regularity of performance by the Court Chapel Kapella in the 1870s and 1880s, there is little evidence of their public performances until the revival of the ensemble by Arensky in 1896. As late as 1909, performances continued to featured works of a sacred nature, though they included works by contemporary composers, expanding beyond the previous set prescribed by the State. This seemingly modernized version of the Kapella's canon reflects the State's continued commitment to retaining Orthodoxy as a part of their identity as Russian. It also demonstrates the adaption to what had become the widely accepted national trend of

performing works by new Russian composers (Chesnokov, Tcherepnin, Grechaninov, and Kastalsky). Over the course of a century, the Imperial Court adhered closely to the political philosophies of "Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and Nationality" through the performance of sacred repertoire and selective Russian composers.

Elite Theatrical Groups

During the nineteenth century, the two prominent opera houses in St. Petersburg, the Mariinsky and Mikhailovsky theaters, held performances by the Imperial Russian Opera Company as well as other large-scale symphony concerts. The Mariinsky primarily housed Imperial funded events; the Mikhailovsky hosted the Russian Musical Society on a regular basis, at the discretion of Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna (wife of Grand Duke Mikahil Pavlovich, 1807-1873) who lived in the Mikhailovsky palace and oversaw the patronage of the estate. Her encouragement of the arts made this palace a site of flourishing development for art, music, and theater in Russia. The choral ensembles performing at these theaters would have been heard by a broader audience than those in attendance the Imperial Court. Thus, the experience of quality musical training and performance can be assumed, as many of the same singers and musicians worked in both the court and the Russian Opera Company.

The workings of the theater prior to and into the first half of the nineteenth century sheds light on the cultural dynamics in flux during the second half of the century in Russian theater. Under Empress Catherine II, in 1783, theater became home to comedic, and tragic plays, and operatic performances. While this is considered the starting point of the Russian Opera Company (best labelled the Imperial drama, opera, and ballet troupes), the Mariinsky theater building did

not open until 1860, referred to as the Imperatorsky Mariinsky Teatr (Imperial Mariinsky Theater) until 1920.

In the 1882-83 season, the Imperial Opera Company relocated to the Bolshoi Kamennyĭ Teatr (Big Stone Theater, commonly referred to as the Bolshoi) in St. Petersburg, escaping the acoustically challenging Mariinsky Theater. At this time, the orchestra increased from 72 to 102 musicians, along with a pay raise.[3] By the 1902-1903 season, the opera company consisted of a 120-person choir, 47 soloists, 135 orchestral musicians, and at least 220 dancers.[4] In 1886, the Bolshoi building was deemed unsafe, demolished that same year, and the company returned to the Mariinsky Theater.[5] Located on Teatralnaia ploschad (Theater square) opposite the Conservatory, the Mariinsky auditorium seated 1,625 people. Based on the years 1900-1910, the Mariinsky averaged 25 actresses and 32 actors, 57 female choristers, 85 male choristers, 123 female dancers, and 85 male dancers.[6] In examination of the Mariinsky repertoire from the years 1900-1917, Frame emphasized that the association between the formal loci of state power and the Mariinsky was more pronounced than that of the other two. This was made evident by the attendance of the tsar solely to this theater, the use of the Mariinsky for hosting foreign dignitaries visiting the capital, and the general presence of courtiers and officials as most prevalent at this theater. Contributing to its prestige, the audience at the Mariinsky was generally more "aristocratic" than that of the "merchant" crowd attending the Alexandrinsky.[7]

[3] Edward H. Tarr, *East Meets West: The Russian Trumpet Tradition from the Time of Peter the Great to the October Revolution* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2003), 101.
[4] Tarr, *East Meets West: The Russian Trumpet Tradition from the Time of Peter the Great to the October Revolution*, 113.
[5] Daniel Jaffé, *Historical Dictionary of Russian Music* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 236.
[6] Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters*, 10.
[7] Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters*, 105.

The troupe performing at the Alexandrinsky Theater originated in Volkov's troupe. This auditorium sat 1,790 spectators, built in 1832 on Teatralnaia ulitsa (Theater street), also home to the Imperial Theater School and offices of the Directorate of the Ministries of Internal Affairs and National Education. Between 1900-1910, Alexandrinsky Theater averaged 53 actresses and 45 actors. The smallest of the three stages, the Mikhailovsky Theater contained 1,151 seats, opened in 1833 and refurbished in 1859. As the only public theaters in the city that existed under the administration of the Imperial Court, these three theaters enjoyed a monopoly on theatrical performances.[8]

The Mikhailovsky Theater did not house its own resident company, but rather hosted performances by French, Italian, and German companies hired by the Russian Imperial Theaters, acting as a house of French culture and elegance for most of its active years prior to the Bolshevik Revolution.[9] This musical venue was overseen by Maria Fëdorovna (wife of Paul I, 1759-1828) during the reign of Tsar Alexander I, and the Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna following her under Nicholas I. It was not until the 1870s that the theater welcomed other troupes wishing to perform there, including touring companies, charity concerts and shows, ballets, and various celebrations. At this time, the theater became home to the newly-formed Russian Musical Society, with the patronage of Pavlovna. Towards the end of the century, the Mikhailovsky held performances by the Russian Imperial Opera and the Mariinsky and Alexandrinsky Theater companies.

Notable to the association of the Imperial Theaters to the court administration, the theaters adhered to the Orthodox calendar, meaning that Russian troupes could not perform in

[8] Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters*, 10.
[9] Nikolai Alekseevich Nekrasov and Thomas Gaiton Marullo, *Petersburg: The Physiology of a City* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2009), 179.

the capital during Lent, though they granted permission to foreign or private troupes. These theaters also catered to the needs of the government for special-occasion performances such as hosting foreign dignities, national and military celebrations, and significant anniversaries.[10] Severity in implementation of these regulations fluctuated according to the will of each tsar. Articulating the significance of the use of theater in the cultural expression of the elite class, Frame evaluates the theaters as structures of power: "Finally, even as physical structures, the St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters bore many of the hallmarks of court culture and were in a sense symbolic monuments of the tsarist order. One might reasonably refer to them as 'power symbols.'"[11]

The fundamental challenge of this power in cultural life manifested in the oversight of affairs by the Directorate of Imperial Theaters. This relationship of rigorous control demonstrated the retention of conservatism as expressed by the court, "rather than the rich experimentation and innovation of the wider Russian theatrical world."[12] In 1842, the Ministry of Internal Affairs ordered privately-owned commercial theaters across the nation to submit their performance pieces to the governors for approval. Efforts were ineffective to oversee all theaters functioning in provincial towns. Dominance of foreign influence elected by the imperial powers continued into the 1870s. For example, Baron Karl Karlovich Kister received the appointment of Director of Imperial Theaters in 1875, holding the post until 1881. The Russian critic Konstantin Skalkovsky assessed Kister as unable to understand Russian art, which was entirely possible to believe by his retention of Italian and German works as the performance canon, and contributed

[10] Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters*, 31-33.
[11] Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters*, 34.
[12] Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters*, 44.

to his unpopularity due to his "near-total neglect of Russian art."[13] However, even after the reforms of the 1860s, it took many years and the spread of railways before the growth of theatrical life livened the opportunity for cultural directives:

> When the monopoly ended in the capitals, Popular Theaters arose there, designed by intelligentsia, state, industrialists, and church to bring "proper" culture to the urban masses and deflect them from the tavern. From 1885 to 1905, these fell under a special censorship, which denied them the production of certain works allowed in other theaters. This measure had a curious effect on nationwide theatergoing.[14]

Alexander III abolished the monopoly of the state-run Imperial theaters and its control over public performances in March 1882. By 1901, 14 commercial theaters opened in St. Petersburg, the most successful of which was the Suvorin Theater (1895-1917).[15] As of 1900, the primary function of the three Imperial Theaters shifted: the Alexandrinsky performed Russian drama; Mikhailovsky, French drama (previously seen as home to the opera and symphonic concerts); and the Mariinsky, performances of opera and ballet. Each theater received patronage by "high society" through ticket sales, collectively acting as models of theatrical art thanks to the administrative and financial standing of the Russian Ministry of the Imperial Court (responsible for the imperial family's household and services).[16]

From the eighteenth into the first half of the nineteenth century, plots commonly seen in the Imperial opera included love stories, with significant conflicts of pride and honor (*Bellerofont*),[17] familial revenge (*Selevk*,[18] *La forza del destino*), political ascendance, or military

[13] Tim Scholl, *From Petipa to Balanchine: Classical Revival and the Modernisation of Ballet* (London, UK: Routledge, 1994), 12.
[14] Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power*, 400.
[15] Robert B. McKean and Ian D. Thatcher, *Late Imperial Russia: Problems and Prospects* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2005), 67.
[16] Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters*, 5.
[17] Libretto by court poet Giuseppe Bonecchi (fl. 1750s) composed by Francesco Araia (1709-c.1770).
[18] Russian version of *Seleuco* composed by Araia, text by Bonecchi.

victory (*Alessandro nell'Indie*).[19] Regarding the repertoire performed in the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century:

> Works such as *Faust*, *Maria Stuart*, *Hamlet*, *The Barber of Seville*, and Molière's *Don Juan* continued to show on provincial stages open to all classes, but could not until 1906 be presented to Moscow's and Petersburg's lower classes who frequented the Popular Theaters.[20]

The plots of operas in the Mariinsky repertoire emphasized the lives of the privileged and elements of the fantastical. Topics only discussing issues of the nobility could be viewed as conflation of the repertoire with its elite audience; high society only observed reflections of their own life on the opera stage. Public reviews of opera productions focused on the specific artists performing, as well as sets and costuming as appropriate for performance. Through her investigation of operatic reviews, Frame concludes that "the Mariinsky opera repertoire was not something that identified the theater specifically with the Russian Imperial court, but rather with the European artistic-cultural world as a whole."[21] Additions to the repertoire during the last quarter of the century included a rising popularity of Wagner's operas and attention to Rimsky-Korsakov's operas, however, without deterring from the established favorites: Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*, Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar* and *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, and Chaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin* and *The Queen of Spades*.[22] Without examining all operas performed in these houses, the general themes of plots represent what received the best reception with the upper-class attendees, offering some reflection on the mores of upper-class identity.

Unlike that of their Italian opera counterparts, who were little interested in choral ensembles, the prominence of choruses became a trademark of Russian opera. The opera

[19] Inna Naroditskaya, *Bewitching Russian Opera: The Tsarina from State to Stage* (Oxford, UK; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), 43.
[20] Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power*, 400-01.
[21] Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters*, 110.
[22] Frame, *The St. Petersburg Imperial Theaters*, 111.

choruses served multiple purposes, usually in service of the rulers. Opera choruses sometimes invoked imagery through a visual and musical representation of the scene. Ensembles, abundant in the productions of this era, particularly as heard in *opera seria*, sang religious and secular works to monarchs during ceremonies and state events.[23] Sometimes they functioned as the reflection of a particular character trait, or collective virtues. The singing crowd also represented the Russian folk or foreign observers, as a useful commentary on the events in the opera.[24] One particular type of chorus, the "Slava" chorus (meaning "Glory"), can be heard in many Russian operas, generally in celebration and worship of a Russian leader or hero, appearing most often in the final scene. The text with little variation was set to different music by composers, but often with the same bravado in character. It was so popular in this era, Naroditskaya labelled it a "hallmark of Russian national opera."[25]

Text Example:
"Slava" Chorus from Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *Mlada*.[26]

О радегаст! богу светдому слава! Слава, слава венебе высоком! Слава, слава на божей земме! Радегаст, светлый бог!
Богу свет лому слава! Слава,слава венебе высоком! Слава, слава на божей земле!
Слава, слава на божей земле, Радегасту великому слава!
На леснаго зверя ловлю нам ниспошли. Радегасту великому слава!
Ты обильную жатву нам дай. И на рыбу пошли наи улов. При несли тебе мед душистый мый.
Радегасту великому слава!
Прижу тонкую принесли мы тебе мягкий лепсполей принесли.
Вам обещает Радегаст обиле славу и победу. Слава! Слава!

[23] Naroditskaya, *Bewitching Russian Opera: The Tsarina from State to Stage*, 44.
[24] Naroditskaya, *Bewitching Russian Opera: The Tsarina from State to Stage*, 47.
[25] Naroditskaya, *Bewitching Russian Opera: The Tsarina from State to Stage*, 3.
[26] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Mlada* (Leipzig: M. P. Belaieff, 1891).

O Radegast! God glory to the glory! Glory, glory is high! Glory, glory in the Gods of the earth! Radegast, god of light!
God glory is the light! Glory, glory is high! Glory, glory in God's land! Glory, glory in the land of God, to Radegast great glory!
In the forest, you give beasts for us to catch. Radegast great glory!
You give us a rich harvest. And the fish we went to catch. The honey we received was sweet.
To Radegast great glory!
You brought us soft linens.
To you, Radegast promises abundant glory and victory. Glory! Glory!

The chorus from the Imperial opera made appearances at concerts, primarily with the purposes of fundraising, either for charitable benefits of humanitarian causes, or for their own company and opera house. The Mariinsky Imperial Opera Theater also participated in the trend of Russian sacred music concerts in the 1890s, as initiated by Arkhangelsky's choir.[27] Referring to one of these concerts, the Free Music School combined with the Mariinsky opera chorus, under the direction of Bekker (as a guest conductor). In review of the performance, the critic Nikolai Sokolov described the conductor's interpretations as: "Cold and dull, despite its technical mastery, as was the performance of the Imperial Court Chapel at its last concert, so the performance of the opera chorus glistened with rich color, life, enthusiasm, and feeling,"[28]

The primary topic of dispute in newly-composed Russian opera of this time was over the use of folk song–its significance, the objective of its use, and the stylistic adaptations made to folk songs for operatic purposes. Stasov and Cui used folk songs only when required as a means for depicting a specific setting or period. They felt folk songs should be used only to represent realistic situations, thus sung by characters representing the folk–most of the time the chorus, rather than denoting an ideological concept of "folk" or national character. Cui reprimanded

[27] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 88.
[28] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 119-20.

Korsakov's inclusion of a folk song in a love duet in his opera *Pskovityanka* (*The Maid of Pskov*):

> One can give a folk song to a chorus representing the folk; one can give it also to individuals who are singing a song; but individual feelings cannot be poured forth in the sounds of a folk song. Here Olga and Tucha are speaking of their own love, of their own feelings; in such a spot the sounds of a folk song are altogether out of place on their lips.[29]

In contrast, Glinka's approach used folk songs to characterize an individual as an expression of *narodnost*. For example, in *A Life for the Tsar*, Ivan Susanin represents the entire Russian nation.[30] For Rubinstein, national music required the inclusion of folk song and folk dance; therefore, he felt large-scale productions such as opera had no place for nationalistic features. Similarly conservative on this issue, Alexander Famintsyn criticized the nationalist form of the Balakirev circle, particularly in opposition to their use of folk song:

> Many people seem to think that we already have Russian instrumental music and even call it "national." But is music national just because it uses as themes for composition trivial dance tunes that automatically remind one of disgusting scenes in front of a saloon?... This only shows that our composers have completely failed to distinguish between national music and rustic folk music… If the kernel from which an entire composition grows is not refined, then the work itself cannot be refined… In no case can it serve as a model or ideal of instrumental music in general. But then today most of our composers scarcely seek the higher ideals.[31]

From other criticism of Rubinstein and Famintsyn, critical correction is found also in the actual compositional techniques used by the Balakirev group as formless and petulant, rather than showing musical polish, and resolving dissonances, like that of the great masters of the past. The conservative party believed that instrumental music should follow formal principles and remain in the realm of absolute music, rather than programmatic music, a similar debate happening

[29] Francis Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 61.
[30] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 61.
[31] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 53.

among contemporary German musicians. In light of this, the progressive current in Russia stood on the works of Berlioz, Liszt, and Wagner and conservatives on that of the Viennese School.[32] However, members of each camp stood in varying degrees of adherence on the spectrum.

The philosophy of realism as manifested in Russian literature in the works of Dostoevsky (1821-1881), Tolstoy (1828-1910), and Chekhov (1860-1904) operated as a basis for progressives's aesthetic of programmatic musical forms. They drew their defense, though not entirely straightforward, from Chernishevsky's *Aesthetic Relations of Art to Reality* (1855), which states that art's purpose is to unveil reality. Chernishevsky's descriptions maintain that music is a product of nature, thus unrestrained by formalities. Most interesting to the purposes of his research, his statements on singing and folk song mirror the ideals of the nationalist, for instance, his definition of singing as a natural expression of feeling. Chernishevsky described the binding attributes of form, which folk song fits into as the paradigm of natural singing:

> It is strange… that nobody has drawn attention to the fact that singing, being, in essence, an expression of joy or sorrow, does not by any means spring from our striving for beauty. Is it to be expected that a person under the overwhelming influence of emotion will think about attaining charm and grace, will concern himself with form? Emotion and form are opposites.[33]

Examples of this realism are evident in Mussorgsky's song cycle *The Nursery* (1870) as well as in his operas *Boris Godunov* (1869) and *Khovanshchina* (*The Khovansky Affair*, a large-scale historical opera begun in 1872, left incomplete after his death). Other Russian operas emphasizing realism include Chaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin* (1878), and Borodin's *Prince Igor* (1890), alongside the Italian composers Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901) and Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924). By clinging to the realist theory as credited by the voice of such authority, the

[32] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 54.
[33] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 56.

Balakirev circle elevated their approach to composition as the method of musical realism, in direct contempt for the formal academic training. Contributing not only to the methodical defense of the progressives, the realist theories added to the conflict over composing for voice, and any piece utilizing or representing folk songs.

Russian musicologist Naroditzkaya describes the importance of the Russian singing tradition on the opera chorus, drawing an important parallel relevant to the inspiration for composition in opera at this time:

> Indeed the longstanding tradition of Russian church singing, secular choral panegyrics, and cantatas laid the foundation for the 'inimitable' operatic choruses that after *La clemenza* 'were used in operas as well as in court festivals and chamber performances.'[34]

Another conclusion about the role of the Russian Imperial Opera as formidable in the lives of its audiences, Julie A. Buckler in her text on attending Russian opera explains that "during Tsar Nicholas I's reign (opera) became the most fashionable and most scrutinized form of theatrical entertainment, offered Russians a mirrored environment for enacting 'cultural performances.'"[35] Also reflecting on the development of shared cultural communities, Susan McClary declared that, "Opera was one of the principal media through which the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie developed and disseminated its new moral codes, values, and normative behavior."[36] This observation of the operatic influence on the ideologies of the upper-class towards the lower and peasant classes as a backward folk, aligns with the portrayal of the chorus used to represent uneducated people in nineteenth-century opera.

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[34] Naroditskaya, *Bewitching Russian Opera: The Tsarina from State to Stage*, 47.
[35] Julie A. Buckler, *The Literary Lorgnette: Attending Opera in Imperial Russia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 8.
[36] Catherine Clément, Betsy Wing, and Susan McClary, *Opera: The Undoing of Women* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), xviii.

Salaries in the Russian opera troupe for Russian singers paled in comparison to those of Western singers. A female chorister (*khoristka*) in the middle of the century received an annual salary of 240-400 rubles per year. At the same time, a Russian soloist received 750-1,200 rubles annually, a meager rate compared to the foreign soloist who received upwards of 14,000 silver rubles for a single season. By the 1890s, Russian prima donnas began to receive comparable salaries closer to 10,000 to 15,000 rubles per season.[37] Mid-century, the tsar served as a primary patron of the Russian Opera Company, paying out an annual sum of 30,000 rubles for his opera box, "as an allowance for the maintenance" of the opera.[38]

The rates of pay for singers employed by government- or royalty-sponsored ensembles projected the elite status and social boundaries desired by the nobility onto the attendance of hearing these performing groups in the most eminent cathedrals and theaters in St. Petersburg. The treatment of and attitude towards the choral ensembles contributed to the construction of the upper-class social identity, particularly as attached to the locations of performances as structures of prominence. As seen in comparison to the second tier choral groups, class identity was often demonstrated by the location of performances in addition to salaries of singers and ticket prices.

[37] Buckler, *The Literary Lorgnette: Attending Opera in Imperial Russia*, 83.
[38] Buckler, *The Literary Lorgnette: Attending Opera in Imperial Russia*, 27.

Second Tier Choral Groups

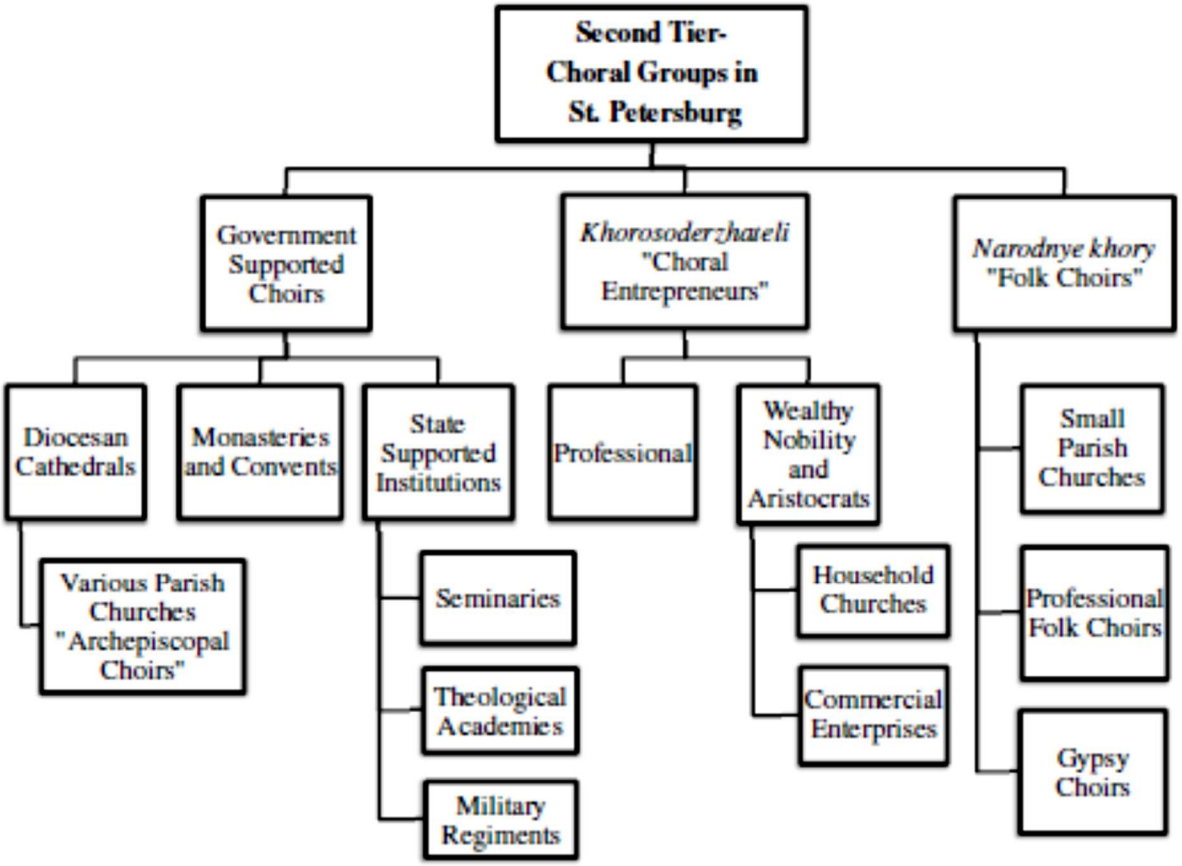

Figure 2-2: Chart of second tier choral groups organized by financial support and trends in repertoire.

Second Tier Status Parish Choirs

Expanding on the picture of the choirs active in St. Petersburg in parish settings, the following descriptions show the division of chorus members, some demographic information, salaries, and repertoire performed. These include church choirs, monasteries, and military regimental choirs attached to cathedrals in St. Petersburg.

The Alexander Nevsky Lavra monastery grounds contain two Baroque churches among numerous other buildings. This monastery boasted one of the largest choirs in St. Petersburg, all together totaling 100 members. Groups in smaller fragments performed often for services and events, but the large chorus only appeared at major public events and open services.

> The Metropolitan choir of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra consists of 100 people, all of which are professional singers. Voice divisions are as follows: 35 trebles, 30 altos, 16 tenors, and 16 basses. Boys living in the abbey on a full boarding basis perform the treble and alto voices.[39]

Another announcement of a concert by the Metropolitan chorus focused on the works of three significant Russian composers:

> On December 7 in the hall of the City Duma, the Provisional Committee for Construction in St. Petersburg arranged an assembly as a shared dedication to Bortniansky, Turchaninov, and Lvov, devoted to the memory of these composers. A litany was offered and afterwards the Metropolitan chorus performed works of the honored composers and gave a presentation on the meaning of each of them.[40]

Little data has been found regarding some of the smaller parishes, though a few details regarding choirs exist. The following descriptions come directly from *Choral and Precentor Affairs* in 1910:

Church of St. Mary Magdalene:

> The choir of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene consisted of nine people (three trebles, two altos, two tenors, and two basses). The chorus was led for three years by V. F. Arsenev, and his predecessor, D. S. Bubnov. At the beginning, amateurs performed for no fee. Now the church allocates the sum of 130 rubles per month for singers. This equates to payment for adults as 7 to 20 rubles and children from 3 to 7 rubles a month. The ensemble regularly utilized works by the composers Arkhangelsky, Bortniansky, Ippolitov-Ivanov, Lvov, Fateev, and Chaikovsky.[41]

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[39] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 70. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-9 for original Russian.
[40] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, Jan. 1909, 22. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-1 for original Russian.
[41] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 70-71. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-9 for original Russian.

Transfiguration Cathedral:

> The choir under the precentor Ivanov, from the jurisdiction of the chief priest of the Synodal monastery founded about 20 years ago, moved to Transfiguration Square and was renamed the Transfiguration Cathedral. Since 1901, the mixed (male and female) choir sang under control of the late P. Kuznetsov. In 1903, he joined V. M. Pronin and in accord with the desires of Archbishop Nikolas, who lives in the courtyard, the choir was transformed into an all male ensemble (since 1905) and now consists of only 8 people, mostly officials. The Holy Synod designated funds in the amount of 1,230 rubles a year. The singers receive from 6 to 18 rubles, and precentor 30-32 rubles per month. The repertoire consists of arrangements for mixed voices: Arkhangelsky, Bortniansky, Goldiana, Lvov, Panchenko, Rubsta, Chaikovsky, etc. Currently, in the absence of elders, the duties of the overseer of the church (an officer of the Holy Synod - G. A. Chernikov) is not without influence on the repertoire of the choir.[42]

Church of St. Simeone:

> The choir of the Church of St. Simeone currently sings under the direction of. P. G. Zdobnov and consists of 11 people (men and women) assigned as 4 trebles, 2 altos, 2 tenors, and 3 basses. The salary for men is from 15 to 25 rubles, and the women from 6 to 25 rubles per month. (The church spends approximately 2,400 rubles per year on the chorus). The precentor receives no salary, and only uses income earned by the chorus through fundraising events and donations. Their repertoire consists of Arkhangelsky, Bakhmetev, Bortniansky, Wedel, Grigoriev, Degtiarev, Lirin, Lvov, Turchaninov, etc.[43]

Church of All Saints:

> The choir of the Church of All Saints was founded in 1874 by one of the acolytes at the Ushakovskaia District School. The development of the chorus began under the precentor AP Ivanov, two to three years after its origin. The well-known composer V. Orlov, and the singers V. S. Sharonov, now artists at the Imperial Theatres, also contributed to the development. Currently, the choir is comprised of 27 people (12 trebles, 7 altos, 4 tenors, and 4 basses) mostly amateurs from among the servants and workmen of the nearby factories and local inhabitants. Funds for the maintenance of the choir came from ecclesiastical revenues. Since the beginning of the organization, the choir funds originally amounted to 120 rubles a year, but now it has increased to 1,320 rubles a year for members. Throughout its existence, the Ushakovsky choir performed in public concerts only two times, one of them independently; since 1908 the choir sings two or three times a year at the Ushakovskaia District School in Sunday readings, in addition to fulfilling the spiritual and secular works. The general repertoire includes works of Arkhangelsky,

[42] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 71. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-9 for original Russian.

[43] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 97. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-11 for original Russian.

Bortniansky, Vedel, Vifliaev, Degtiarev, Lirin, Lvov, Orlov, Strokin, Turchaninov, V. Fateev, Chaikovsky, and many others.[44]

In the Malaia Okhta district where the gunpowder factory was located, the Church of St. Elijah cathedral stands in its third formation, first built in 1717, then again in 1747, and in its final form in 1785 by the Russian architect N. A. Lviv in the style of early Russian classicism. The chorus members of the Church of St. Elijah received salaries from the church income. With a total of 18 members, the chorus consisted of 6 trebles, 4 altos, 4 tenors, and 4 basses. Amateur singers made of clerks and church workers (basses and tenors) received from 3 to 8 rubles per month. The girls and boys recruited for the high voices came from a local school. Payment for girls ranged from 50 kopeks to 9 rubles per month, and the boys from 50 kopeks to 5 rubles per month. Under the guidance of Danilov the ensemble performed works by Arkhangelsky, Bakhmetev, Bortniansky, Grigoriev, Grechaninov, Zhdanov, Zaitsev, F. Ivanov, Kopylova, Lirin, Lvov, Turchaninov, and others.[45]

The parish ensembles compared most closely to the military regiment ensembles, who also performed as attached to particular parish halls for their sacred duties. Performing members operated in a more voluntary capacity, evident by the minimal payment for their service as well as the lesser expectation of professional musical training for participation. Duty to serve in the military was required for middle- and lower-class men prescribed by legal estate. It can be similarly observed that the middle- and lower-class civilans who sang in choirs did so out of a sense of religious duty enforced by the government and sometimes by factory employers who insisted on church attendance on Sundays.

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[44] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 70-71. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-9 for original Russian.
[45] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, Feb. 1910, 41. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-7 for original Russian.

Military Regiment Ensembles Attached to Parishes

By the 1850s, St. Petersburg boasted a military atmosphere, elaborated by Alexander I in the first quarter of the century with parade grounds and majestic palaces that framed city squares ideal for events of pomp and circumstance. The garrisons of men made up approximately 20 percent of the population by the beginning of the century, making military uniforms a regular sight on the city streets.[46] Regimental bands exerted their presence through daily parades and concerts, a routine aspect of life in St. Petersburg. Bandmasters were classified as civilian officials (*Chinovniki dlia obucheniia muzykantov*), though also required to pass the entrance examinations for military academies. These leaders, considered the highest caliber, were recruited most often from the orchestras of the Imperial Theaters.[47]

Regimental bands performed for fixed military calendar events, as well as contributing to the sacred festivals central to the religious culture in Russia. Parades and marches embellished annual religious feasts, like the Feast of the Epiphany, Easter Sunday, and celebrations of certain saints. In congruence with the religious expectations, all solders attended Matins and Vespers daily (as compulsory to their service), where the choirs intoned the Orthodox liturgy. They were required to attend mass twice a week and on religious holidays.[48] The units stationed in the capital, customarily performed annual church parades and military concerts at the Winter Palace, which were attended by the tsar and the Chaplain-General of the Army and fleet. Further

[46] Arcadius Kahan and Richard Hellie, *The Plow, the Hammer, and the Knout: An Economic History of Eighteenth-Century Russia* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1985).
[47] Brandenburg Historica, "Military Music and Tradition in Imperial Russia," Brandenburg Historica, LLC, 9 November 2016. http://stores.militaryhistoryshop.com/blog/military-music-and-tradition-in-imperial-russia/, accessed 9 November 2016.
[48] Janet M. Hartley, *Russia, 1762-1825: Military Power, the State, and the People* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008), 183.

understanding of the connection between military and religious life, Janet M. Hartley summarizes the role of priests:

> Regimental priests were the means by which the religious life of soldiers was controlled and strengthened… The priests had to take confession and note how well soldiers carried out their religious obligations. Soldiers were instructed in religious obedience, and there is some suggestion that conversion to Orthodoxy also helped promotion in the army.[49]

Choruses existed as supported and organized by military regiments that performed as attached to a particular church in St. Petersburg.[50] Every regiment possessed a choir, though some became more famous than others.[51] These singers often performed *a cappella* with a single drum added when performing outside, titled the "company singers."[52] In conjunction with the religious expectations, sacred music played an important role for soldier's daily lives. The guard regiments were modelled on their Western European prototypes, not only in military, but social structure as well. The most publicly prestigious regiments, the Izmailovsky, Preobrazhensky, and Semënovsky, drew officers largely from the noble class.[53] The Izmailovsky Life Guards Regiment was one of the oldest regiments of the Russian army, a subdivision of the First Guards Infantry Division of the Imperial Russian Guard, formed in Moscow in 1730 and later moved to St. Petersburg with the relocation of the nation's capital.

> The choir of the Izmailovsky Life Guards Regiment (first infantry division of the Russian Imperial Guard) that sang at the Trinity Cathedral was partially funded by the regiment, partially on its own revenues. Its composition of 77 members was distributed as follows: 25 descant (treble), 15 altos, 17 tenors, and 20 basses. In the number of adult choristers, members of the lower ranks received no additional salary for their singing duties, but civilians received from 25 to 40 rubles. Boys in most of the cases were orphans, and thus

[49] Hartley, *Russia, 1762-1825: Military Power, the State, and the People*, 183.
[50] Henri Troyat, *Daily Life in Russia Under the Last Tsar* (New York, NY: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1962), 123.
[51] Troyat, *Daily Life in Russia Under the Last Tsar*, 118.
[52] Tarr, *East Meets West: The Russian Trumpet Tradition from the Time of Peter the Great to the October Revolution*, 133.
[53] Owen Matthews, *Glorious Misadventures: Nikolai Rezanov and the Dream of a Russian America* (London, UK: Bloomsbury, 2013), 37.

> the same as the lower ranks "are fully content and receive free training." Under the direction of P.I. Ryzhkov for almost ten years by 1908, the ensemble is recorded of having performed no public concerts. However, the article provided an extensive list of composters performed during worship by the chorus: Azeeva, Allemanov, Arkhangelsky, Bahmetev, Benevolo, Berezovsky, Bortniansky, Vedel, Stagedive, Golitsyn, Goldiana, Grechaninov, Grigoriev, Davydov, Degtiarov, Demchenko, Zhdanov, Ivanov, Kastalsky, Kachenovsky, Kopylov, Lomakin, Lviv, Lvov, Sokolov, and Soloviev of the old Russian style, along with Stroknir, Turchaninov, Fateev, Chaikovsky, and Chesnokov.[54]

The choir of the Finliandsky Life Guards Regiment infantry regiment of the Russian Imperial Guard) performed in the regiment's chapel, the Chapel of St. Spyridon of Trimythous, which was located in the building of the regimental hospital, Usilenny Hospital on Vasilievsky Island. The 1910 article described the state of the chorus as performing in the newly erected chapel at the one-hundredth anniversary of the regiment in 1903-1904, but prior to the closing of the cathedral in 1919:

> After 30 years in service as precentor – D.F. Yakovlev resigned and undertook putting the chorus into designated churches by themselves. The choir includes girls and boys, in addition to adults. The youth recently recruited from school, and the girls from amateur choirs, receive from 8 to 15 rubles per month. Adults receive from 20 to 40 rubles, while the share of precentor accounts for about 70 rubles per month. In concerts the full chorus does not perform, except for adult singers. The repertoire is vast, with composers of the old school not infrequently performed: Arkhangelsky, Izvekov, Kompaneisky, Kopylov, Poluektov, Chesnokov and many others.[55]

For evaluation of the trends in song themes and subjects, the publication, *Piesennik rossiĭskago voina: 1721-1921* (The *Russian Warrior's Songbook, 1721-1921*), arranged for four voices, serves as a useful overview of the popular works of this era. This collection of soldier's, seaman's, cossack, regimental, volunteer units', military academy, and cadet songs, including the anthems and choruses which were most frequently sung in the Imperial Army and Navy gives us

[54] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, Feb. 1910, 41. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-7 for original Russian.
[55] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 98. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-12 for original Russian.

some insight into the repertoire performed by these choirs.[56] The following list includes majority of the works provided in this text with their English titles, as a survey of themes to be discussed:

"The Voice of the Sea of Irmos is Alive"
"The Church Chorale." Music by Chaikovsky
"Hymn of the Great Donetsk Army." Words by F. I. Anisimov
"Song of the Tersk Cossack Army"
"Donsk Anthem During the Civil War"
"Oh, You Untamed Field." Bylina
"Sleep, Fighting Eagles." Words by Olenin and music by Kornilov
"Thunder of Victory Rang Out." Words by G R Derzhavin and music by I. A. Kozlovsky
"Unto the Wide Steppe"
"Come on, *Snezhochki*"[57]
"Beneath the Green Willow Tree"
"Roaring of the Khvil Mountains"
"We Boldly Go into Battle"
"Motherland"
"Far East"
"Glory, Glory to our Russian Tsar." Words by Baron Rosen and music by Mikhail Glinka
"Song of the 5th Hussar Alexandria Regiment"
"Song of the 12th Starodubsky Dragoon Regiment"
"Song of the 12th Belgorod Uhlan Regiment." Words by General Chekotovsky
"Song of the 10th Ulanska Odessa Regiment"
"Song 12th Cavalry Division"
"Death of Steregushchy"[58]
"Death of Varyag"[59]
"Those Who Love their Homeland." Music by A. A. Arkhangelsky
"Cheers to the Turkestanis"
"Signal March." Music by A. Kolotilin
"Hey Don Cossacks, Well Done"
"Hey Merry Don People"
"Glory to the Hero Platov"
"Cossack Went to a Far Away Foreign Land"
"March of the New Generation." Words and music P. N. Zelinsky
"Marching Regiments from the Panchenko War." Music by S. V. Markov
"What Kind of Songs"
"The Sun has Risen"

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[56] Valentin N. Mantulin and Aleksandr F. Bek, *Piesennik rossiiskago voina: 1721-1921* (New York, NY: Valentin N. Mantulin, 1970). Russian and English titles found in Appendix B.
[57] *Snezhochki* is a Caucausian Cossack's Dance.
[58] *Stereguschago* is the name of Russian battleship destroyer.
[59] The *varyag* was a naval cruiser of the Imperial Russian Navy.

"Borderguard"
"On the Hills of Manchu." Words and music by I. A. Shatrova
"He Died a Poor Man."
"What Do You Think My Dear"
"Song of the Hussar"
"You Go and Return to Me." Written by A. T. Grechaninov
"The March of the Russian Liberation of Arms." Words by A. Florov and music by M. Davydov

This extensive list, though not comprehensive shows the variety of themes represented in the repertoire of the military regiments. A group of songs references the homeland and different landmarks that would remind a soldier of the beauty for which they longed, such as the fields, the wild steppe, the willow tree, and the Far East. Another portion of songs starkly contrasts the serene tone of the landscapes with stories of battle and rousing tales to inspire and motivate them in their duties as soldiers. These include many march-style songs, anthems to the tsar, and tales of the deaths of soldiers who died valiantly in service. Military and governmental leaders promoted the writing of songs with heroic subjects to inspire soldiers to fight with the purpose of gaining pride, not necessarily for the furthering of the nation's causes. For the soldiers, singing about men who sacrificed their lives aroused a great sense of pride as they went forth to fight, and promoted the motivation for individual sacrifice as necessary to their mission. Beyond the individual, however, there were songs representative of separate military units. Each regiment had their own song as a signature of their independent collective. This practice bonded together those in the same regiment as they sang with pride together their own song. Formal regimental choirs acted as performers and leaders, using music to set the tone of any situation. With these songs men trained together, fought together, and mourned together.

The choral music written for the military regiments was clearly designed with the purposes of encouraging unification and inspiring a sense of duty. This genre of choral music shaped generations of men in service of their nation, instilling pride and inscribing militarism

into their identity as Russian men for life. Attendees of military choir performances experienced the passion exuded from these ensembles with songs designed to construct a spirit of national pride and strength, encouraging dependence on the military and thus their government.

Second Tier Theaters

A novel development to cultural appreciation in the late-nineteenth century, Nicholas II with the assistance of the philanthropist Countess Sofia Vladimirovna Panina, set up the *Nikolai II Narodniĭ dom* (People's House) as a leisurely center of art and theater available to the working classes in 1899-1900.[60] The building housed a concert hall, a theater, a public library, and a restaurant. In an attempt to compete with taverns as venues for entertainment, the St. Petersburg Guardianship for Popular Temperance (founded in 1898) committed certain tax revenues towards the subsidies of temperance societies and public facilities.[61] There was a small entrance charge, which provided entertainment and educational clubs for middle-class intelligentsia, petty officials, students, soldiers, shopkeepers, and workers with the only additional fee for a seat at the theater, which held up to 1,500 spectators.[62] Places such as this, called temperance theaters, offered low-priced entertainments more affordable to working people such as drama, vaudeville, farce, operetta, and sometimes opera and ballet, comedians, acrobats, clowns, magicians, and folk singers, usually priced between 5-10 kopeks per show. These factory and temperance theaters "ushered in a new era in urban popular culture, in which low-priced entertainment

[60] N. E. Andreyev and Patrick Miles, *A Moth on the Fence: Memoirs of Russia, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, and Western Europe* (Kingston-upon-Thames, UK: Hodgson Press, 2009), 121.
[61] Gary Thurston, *The Popular Theatre Movement in Russia, 1862-1919* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998), 12.
[62] One source claims the theater held 3,000, which conflicts with two other reports of the theater holding 1,500 seats in its theater. Paul Du Quenoy, *Stage Fright: Politics and the Performing Arts in Late Imperial Russia* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 37.

became a commodity regularly available to the urban subordinate classes."[63] This made for a unique social space where "all classes of urban society rubbed shoulders, at least in the lobbies, buffets, and surrounding parks, if not in the seats." [64]

In attempts to produce entertainment that would encourage the state of morality among the St. Petersburg citizens, particularly the factory workers and those of the lower class, the St. Petersburg Guardianship commissioned and sponsored works with themes that edified virtuous characteristics. Over the course of 11 years, the guardianship sponsored 9,518 performances of 667 different plays. In her book *The Alcoholic Empire: Vodka & Politics in Late Imperial Russia,* Patricia Herlihy described the role of opera in the People's House:

> The guardianship held a particular faith in the sobering effects of music, believing it was accessible even to the illiterate and that it would dissipate the boredom that led people to drink… But perhaps the optimism of the effects of opera was misplaced, for a contemporary reported that 'peasant viewers were seen to strain to get the words and to be confused about the ideas and even the subjects of the operas.'[65]

Over the course of 15 years, 2,411 opera performances took place at the People's House. The repertoire of the Nikolai II People's House featured historical plays and operas, focused on celebrating the subjects of Russian patriotism and martial heroism. The productions became renowned for its enormous casts, expensive scenery, and lavish costumes. As the only similar competition in St. Petersburg, the Ligovsky People's House received praise for its quality performances and repertoire, yet still averaged less than one percent of annual attendance over thirteen years (1900-1913) compared to the Nikolai II People's House.[66]

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[63] E. Anthony Swift, *Popular Theater and Society in Tsarist Russia* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 136.
[64] Swift, *Popular Theater and Society in Tsarist Russia*, 136.
[65] Patricia Herlihy, *The Alcoholic Empire: Vodka & Politics in Late Imperial Russia* (Oxford, UK; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 19.
[66] Swift, *Popular Theater and Society in Tsarist Russia*, 157.

Attempts to involve people in productions occurred as musical interludes between acts of plays, and concerts given by choruses. Anyone with an interest in music could join the "People's Orchestra," or the "People's Choir" in St. Petersburg. The Guardianship especially targeted children in order to connect them, believing that the musical and cultural engagement would detract from their captivation with alcohol.[67] Multiple "anti-alcohol" campaigns took place over the course of the late-nineteenth century. The government organized anti-alcohol days with alternative entertainment such as parades, music, and theatrical performances. An anti-alcohol museum was erected in St. Petersburg, along with libraries and educational facilities. The minister of finance paid for anti-alcohol lessons for hospitals and military personnel. Numerous initiatives took place with the aim of improving the state of drunkenness in the Russian Empire.[68]

Other enterprises such as factories, or collective industrialists found it useful to construct theaters on their premises as alternative entertainment affordable to their workers. The Nevsky Society, a group of industrial owners organized and established a park for workers with summer, winter, and children's theater, reaching 2,000 seats in the stone theater. Government agencies found these ventures similarly fruitful with tax revenues, which could be "tapped by public-spirited Russians interested in constructing community centers."[69]

Amidst the tumultuous state of alcoholism and a growing disparity between the privileged and the impoverished in Russia at this time, the emphasis on cultural events demonstrated the government's perspective on the bond of Russians to their customs. Including music in nearly all of the campaign events and cultural centers to encourage sobriety and an enlightened morality makes clear the significant role of music as perceived by the government

[67] Herlihy, *The Alcoholic Empire: Vodka & Politics in Late Imperial Russia*, 20.
[68] Herlihy, *The Alcoholic Empire: Vodka & Politics in Late Imperial Russia*.
[69] Thurston, *The Popular Theatre Movement in Russia, 1862-1919*, 12.

and elite establishment. It also reflects the government's realization that the Russian people connected deeply with their musical heritage. They attempted to tap into this internal legacy with the music of their people. It can be concluded that the government understood the depth of the musical relationship ethnic Russians experienced as ties to their past, and used it as a means of cultural guidance. They elevated not only the tangible music, but also the act of participating in music to a place of authority.

Institutional Societies and Schools

One of the most notable developments during this period in Russia was the number of growing opportunities for public engagement in musical activity. Music acted as an ideal vehicle for the progress of cultural identity, seen also occurring in Europe at this time. Public activities such as attending concerts, and hosting musical events provided the middle and upper class citizens a place to demonstrate their level of educated society and social status.[70] The organization of the Russian Musical Society (RMS) followed by the establishment of the St. Petersburg Conservatory beckoned a new era of professionalism in music and public involvement, though not without difficulties.

Musical education and programming expanded during the nineteenth century, in great part thanks to private patrons. The second half of the century gave rise to upper level musical education through the founding of the Russian Musical Society (1859) and the St. Petersburg Conservatory (1862), both of which began thanks to government funding and patronage from Imperial family members and high-ranking nobles. While employed as the Grand Duchess Elena

[70] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 9.

Pavlovna's personal pianist (German-born aunt of Tsar Alexander II, sister-in-law to Tsar Nicholas I[71]), Rubinstein suggested the concept of a public music school, in order "to raise the aesthetic and musical level of the whole Russian society."[72] Together with Pavlovna, Matvey Vielgorsky (a famous amateur cellist), and Dmitry Stasov (brother of the critic Vladimir Stasov), Rubinstein gained support from aristocratic families, such as Prince Dmitry Alexandrovich Obolensky who served as vice-chair to the Society and whose son became a prominent member of the Society's governing board.[73] Substantial subsidies were given through the State treasury as gifts from Tsar Alexander II. Pavlovna not only supported the financial needs of the Society, but "she opened her home, the Mikhailovsky Palace, to the first classes offered by the Society, which served as the embryo of the St. Petersburg Conservatory."[74] Leveraging his celebrity as an internationally famous pianist, Rubinstein gained sponsorship from the highest aristocratic circles to open the *Russkoye muzikal'noye obshchestvo* (Russian Musical Society), funding the first fully-professional orchestra in St. Petersburg.[75]

The Russian Musical Society hosted public concerts, introducing large-scale instrumental works such as symphonies, piano concertos, and overtures, along with vocal works like oratorios, cantatas, and operas. In an article written by César Cui in the *St. Petersburg Bulletin* (1864), credit was given to the Russian Musical Society for the "considerable increase in the number of concerts both in St. Petersburg and Moscow" during the 1860s.[76] The bulk of repertoire came from German composers of the Baroque and Classical eras, such as J. S. Bach,

[71] Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna employed Rubinstein as her personal musician, to play at her private soirées, as well as for the tsar and his immediate family. Pavlovna supported Rubinstein by providing housing as well as an annual salary and lump donations towards his projects of interest. Marina Soroka and Charles A. Ruud, *Becoming a Romanov: Grand Duchess Elena of Russia and Her World (1807-1873)* (London, UK: Routledge, 2017), 300-01.
[72] Soroka and Ruud, *Becoming a Romanov: Grand Duchess Elena of Russia and Her World (1807-1873)*, 301.
[73] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 55-56.
[74] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 56-57.
[75] Richard Taruskin, *On Russian Music* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 2009), 194.
[76] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 178.

Handel, Gluck, and Beethoven, with some romantic era works by Robert Schumann and Franz Schubert. New Russian music performed included the operas of Mikhail Glinka, Alexander Dargomyzhsky, and Anton Rubinstein. Prior to the 1860s, foreign musicians primarily made up the performers of classical music concerts, whereas native Russians had not yet received comparable musical training. Up to 20 concerts took place a year of both orchestral and chamber music, also creating a place for Russian conductors to take the podium. Most importantly, the Russian Musical Society offered the first formal setting of professional training in music on native soil. Native Russian musicians and performers had been rare due to the limitations of training, which only took place in wealthy homes and private schools. The opportunity for basic training expanded the basis of Russian composers and performers available to produce original music and perform the latest repertoire, giving birth to an inventive era of Russian music.

In the early years of the Russian Musical Society (to be referred to as RMS), a struggle arose for the group to carve out a position for itself in the social and cultural landscape of Russia. This manifested in multiple strategies to dictate its own history, defend its purpose, and gain governmental favor. The society rewrote its own history multiple times in the form of a mythical tale, recounting the progressive influence on concert life and musical education. The scholar Lynn M. Sargeant aptly described the motivation of the society: "In order to justify its existence in the face of sustained, sometimes virulent criticism, the Russian Musical Society created a narrative that presented itself as single-handedly bringing Russian music out of the darkness and into the light."[77]

Out of this organization, the St. Petersburg Conservatory opened as an academic institution in 1862, thus establishing the Russian Musical Society as a public society for

[77] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 9.

performance purposes rather than educational.[78] The RMS coordinated performances of classical orchestral and choral works. Due to the success of well-executed concerts, and ever-increasing opportunities for performers and composers, the society expanded to other cities in Russia as local branches run by resident musicians. Moscow's branch opened just a year after the one in St. Petersburg (1860), under the direction of Nikolai Rubinstein (Anton Rubinstein's brother) and his financial patron Prince Nikolai Petrovich Trybetskoĭ who served as president.

Conservatory activity was institutionalized in 1862, with various eminent foreign musicians appointed as the first professors. The foundation of Russia's first conservatory was greeted with hostile disparagement from Stasov; he argued that the Western educational model that had inspired Rubinstein's conservatory threatened to undermine the indigenous development of a Russian national music. Holding only a two-hour rehearsal once a week at the onset, the Society's inaugural concert was given in November 1859, with Rubinstein playing one of his piano concertos. By the mid-1860s, the RMS had introduced the Russian public to symphonies, piano concertos, and overtures from the Western classical tradition. Works by German composers dominated concert programs. Though the RMS gave many significant performances of orchestral works and full-scale operas of both Russian and non-Russian musicians, these will not be discussed for the purposes of this research.[79]

Many reviews reference operatic, orchestral and instrumental works, but a few remain that pertain to the performances by both the Conservatory's and Society's choirs. In the performance of Beethoven, the Society received a positive review from 1883 in *Muzykalnyĭ mir* (*Musical World*):

[78]Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 45.
[79] Operas performed by the society include those by Gluck, Weber, Glinka, Dargomizhsky, and Rubinstein, among others. Major instrumental works include those by Schumann, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Berlioz, Liszt, J.S. Bach, and Beethoven.

> The presentation from the Imperial Russian Musical Society was the 9th Symphony in D minor op. 125 for choir, orchestra and soloists, by Beethoven. The great power of this mind draws on the struggle of life and the grand finale sounds fused with the immortal verses of Schiller's "Ode To Joy." It paints a picture of reconciliation and love of humanity. In their task of interpretation, this symphony is above all the previous. In it, Beethoven has reached the borders of power in the merger of vocal and instrumental music. The chorus, always representing the weaker side of the concerts of the Russian Musical Society, were applauded for their unexpectedly splendid performance of the symphony concert. The choirs of the Conservatory and the Russian Musical Society, under the leadership of Czerny and Zike, their confidence, strength, and nuances helped us to forget the undesirable past of the Russian Musical Society in respect to its chorus. The difficult parts of the soloists were perfectly executed by Mr. Tsesar, Diakonova, Moshkovichevsky, and Levitsky, students of the St. Petersburg Conservatory. In general, the presentation of the 9th Symphony made a complete artistic impression and surpassed the best delivery of Beethoven's creation the Petersburg public has yet heard.[80]

In a review from 1864, Serov expressed his empathetic disdain for a choral performance:

> Because of its short period of existence to date the Conservatoire cannot yet form an orchestra from its own students, but the students do take part in the choruses at Russian Musical Society concerts. This choir is weak, as everyone must agree. It is not merely a question of there being no shading, no transitions from loud to soft in their singing—they are weak even in tempo, their intonation is inaccurate, and I have rarely heard them sing a movement decently.[81]

The Society acted as a cultural infrastructure that encouraged the growth of competing associations, including businesses and performance venues. The conflict that occurred between directors of the RMS is relevant to the perspective of nationalism during this time as represented by musical education and composition. The most prevalent professional conflict took place between Rubinstein and Balakirev. The historical narrative through the twentieth century described the RMS as the home of the Russian national composers–The Mighty Handful. It was here that the Russian national style developed, according to Soviet-era historians. The more recent scholarship by Richard Taruskin and Marina Frolova-Walker debunks the myth of a

[80] *Muzykalnyĭ mir (Musical World)*, (St. Petersburg, RU: M. A. Khan, 1883), February, 5-6. Translated by author. See Appendix A: C-1 for original Russian.
[81] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 88.

unified musical style codified during this era, primarily in the examination of opera and symphonic works.[82]

While there is truth that the issue of nationalism existed between the musical camps, the actors in this story reveal a more complex situation. A friend and worshipper of Glinka, Balakirev took great offense towards Anton Rubinstein for his critical article of Glinka in 1855. The two men similarly competed as rivals on the stage as pianists, both of whom "abhorred professional virtuosity,"[83] and rather aimed to find success as conductors or composers. Balakirev, predominantly self-taught, opposed academicism, considering it to be of no help to talented musicians, and voiced his vehemence towards it even as a threat to the musical imagination. Clearly sharing some ideological differences, the opposition manifested as competition to achieve their own successful professional career. A viable musical career was a difficult task at this point in Russia, other than in service of the Imperial Court. With so few positions to hold at this status, it is easy to see why this newfound society landed in the center of the St. Petersburg professional sphere. Balakirev had few sources of income, coming only from music lessons and piano recitals in salons of the aristocracy. Balakirev's professional and financial difficulties, combined with his personal disdain motivated his attack on Rubinstein. Maes described Balakirev's mindset:

> As his personal situation became more difficult, Balakirev's nationalism turned into undisguised xenophobia. As far as he was concerned, Rubinstein, of German and Jewish descent, was an alien and the Russian Musical Society was little more than a German club, founded, according to the rumor that he helped to spread, for the express purpose of benefiting Germans.[84]

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[82] Richard Taruskin, "Non-Nationalists and Other Nationalists," *19th Century Music* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 132-43.; Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*.; Taruskin, *On Russian Music*. Marina Frolova-Walker, "On "Ruslan" and Russianness," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9, no. 1 (1997): 21-45.
[83] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 39.
[84] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 39.

Adding fuel to the fire, Alexander Serov similarly perceived Rubinstein as a threat to the musical culture in St. Petersburg. Serov and Balakirev shared the objective of championing progressive music in Russia, amidst their own failing careers as professional performers or composers. While they shared this dislike for Rubinstein, they were unable to maintain their own relationship for multiple reasons. Serov's passion for Wagner grew, a personal quarrel with Vladimir Stasov divided past friendships, and Balakirev attacked Serov's opera *Judith* in print—a recipe for dissolution.[85] Regardless, as opponents of the RMS and the St. Petersburg Conservatory, these men strategically undermined the authority of these institutions with critical press reviews as well as the attempts to begin an alternative organization. With similar professional distaste, Lvov forbade his singers of the Imperial Court from appearing with the RMS.[86]

Serov's hostility towards Rubinstein was based on the failings of his own career. Rubinstein bypassed Serov as a member of the advisory committee of the RMS, and as a teacher of the Conservatory. As this saga in history earned the description of conflict, Stites aptly reflects on the results of the dramatic events:

> The musical schism of the 1860s, despite its sometimes absurd rhetorical posturing, probably enriched rather than hindered musical advancement in Russia. Each side doubled its efforts to outdo the other. Prior to 1861, most would-be composers who aspired to further heights had to pass through the hands of foreigners in Russia or abroad. With the growth of aspiring amateur composers and non-serf musicians came a demand for Russian home-grown education. Both the conservatories and the Free School in their different ways help fill this need.[87]

In 1867, Rubinstein withdrew from St. Petersburg, traveling as a virtuoso pianist and conductor instead, as he had hoped to do professionally. "Serov and Balakirev, however, remained convinced that they had forced him to resign and that they had thus attained their

[85] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 40-41.
[86] Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power*, 390.
[87] Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power*, 397-98.

objective."[88] Balakirev enjoyed the appointment as the RMS conductor, alongside Nikolai Zaremba and Hector Berlioz in 1867, though riddled with tensions and criticism from Pavlovna, who remained in a position of oversight. It only took the voice of Serov joining with the conservative wing to convince the backing of Pavlovna in demand of Balakirev's dismissal.[89] This course of events led Balakirev to redirect his attention to the Free Music School, with hopes of a more significant breakthrough in his career as a conductor. By recruiting popular soloists, such as Nikolai Rubinstein, Balakirev found himself under attack from Pavlovna. She chose to attend concerts of the RMS herself, raising the concerts to a higher social plane and minimizing the number of socially-acceptable attendees, unfortunately causing both societies financial struggle. No longer able to pay Balakirev, the Free Music School cut their season concert series short in 1870-71.[90] Over the course of the following two decades, modifying the design of programs proved to reinvigorate the popularity of their public concerts. They narrowed the focus of a single concert to only one or two performing forces instead of such a wide variety. This also served their ability to produce longer and larger works in a single concert. Under the concert direction of Mikhail Azanchevsky in 1871, who proudly championed progressive music, programs turned towards the emphasis of Russian repertoire. The society acquired some social status with the widely-acclaimed conductor Napravnik who led the modern programs. Napravnik received outstanding reviews, even from the harshest critics such as Cui.[91]

In its first ten years, the RMS, the Conservatory, and Free Music School existed in a state of social warfare, primarily motivated by the career ambitions and attitudes of conflicting personalities. As a defining and divisive component of their identities, the three institutions

[88] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 42-43.
[89] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 44.
[90] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 45.
[91] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 45.

established a kind of nationalist branding, primarily through the criticism of one group about another. The Conservatory remained the most conservative of the institutions, still having to deal with "the Achilles' heel of contemporary musical life in Russia: its dependence on noble sponsors,"[92] in this case under Pavlovna, who preferred the German leadership and academic formula. The Free Music School advocated for the expansion of musical education to people of various social classes, emphasizing works by Russian composers. With the death of Serov in 1871 and the retreat of Balakirev from public life in 1872, a vacuum appeared where the protagonists between institutions had stood. Remaining under the financial support of Pavlovna, and some oversight of the Conservatory, the RMS emerged as the most powerful advocate for new Russian music into the 1880s and 90s.

The disadvantage of functioning under the sponsorship of a noble became painfully evident in the demand for change in the training program by Elena Pavlovna in the early 1870s. It is clear from the evidence of the music journals that choral music activities were drastically minimalized among the Conservatory in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Pavlovna decreed that the Conservatory would teach only the playing of orchestral music. Her belief that fostering musical originality served no useful purpose aligned with the reactionary education policy similarly adopted after the attempt on Alexander II's life in 1866. As a private institution, the Grand Duchess had the final word in this restriction of new music and free thought.[93] It cannot be overlooked amidst this event that a powerful social commentary also took place, regarding the role of choral music. The musical repertoire removed from study at the Conservatory only included vocal genres: opera and choral. Her intention to suppress an uprising of originality seemed most logically obtained through the elimination of vocal music. The

[92] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 48.
[93] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 47-48.

commentary on the significance of vocal music as not only a physical voice, but also as a political and social tool by Pavlovna reveals multiple layers of concern by the Russian nobility, as reflected by the government in their own educational reforms and Russification. Pavlovna's decision speaks volumes to the significance attributed to opera and choral works at this time as a vehicle for socio-political activity. Her fear of losing power over this institution was evident in the termination of Zaremba because of his protests to her policies. A major shift towards modernization occurred with the death of Pavlovna in 1873, when the government assumed financial responsibility and took charge of both the Russian Musical Society and the renamed Imperial Conservatory.[94]

The success of these concerts that exposed the general public to choral music outside of the sacred sphere should not be described as anything other than vital to the growth of new compositions in this era. The design of concert programs tended to include multiple performing forces in each concert, for instance, a couple orchestral pieces, a piano solo, a few opera arias or *romances*, and choral numbers. Any number of combinations can be seen in the programming of the society concerts. The arrangement of choral works alongside the large-scale orchestral and piano pieces, which had historically received more respect, elevated the status of choral music to a respected musical form, treated seriously by contemporary composers.

In 1861, Serov defended the state of Russian music and its national stability, but in reference to the highly-revered conducting and leadership skills of Lomakin with the Free Music School, he compared the performances of the RMS:

[94] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 47-48.

> The audiences of St. Petersburg (used to the so-called concerts of the so-called Russian (!) Musical Society and other symphonic concerts) were completely unused to such musical performances of choral works with appropriate nuances, and became aware in Mr. Lomakin's concerts of entirely new delights they had not previously experienced, and applauded furiously.[95]

Serov's insulting exclamation point clarified his sarcastic description of the RMS as representing what he viewed as truly Russian. Serov reviewed the seventh RMS concert of the year, which Campbell describes as the peak of Balakirev's career. Next to Berlioz, Balakirev conducted the orchestral concerts of the RMS in 1867, appointed as its new director. This appointment represented a change of direction on the part of the society, hiring a known champion of modern Russian music, as well as lacking the prestige of Rubinstein. The RMS prided itself on premiering works by Russian composers, as the critic Laroche described in 1869: "This Society's concerts gave composers a new opportunity of coming before the judgment of the public, of hearing their own works performed in orchestral guise and of making artistic progress (prior to this, access to concerts was very difficult for [the whole of] Russian composers)."[96]

The authority of Glinka was emphasized and the power of the chorus confirmed in this portion of Serov's review of the excerpts performed by the RMS of *Sadko* by Rimsky-Korsakov:

> Had Glinka himself written nothing apart from a few romances and the overtures – let's say to Prince Kholmsky, or the second Spanish one, hardly anyone – besides Mr. Balakirev's circle – would have recognized Glinka as 'great,' let alone a 'remarkable', composer. Meanwhile, the 'Slav'sya' chorus is just one line, but, of course, by its truthfulness of expression and depth of its historical idea, it outweighs heaps of works by the Russian Schumannists who saunter along without themselves knowing where they are going, taking a path which – in our times – is entirely false and unlit by reason.[97]

The RMS extended its educational programming to the provinces and outlying territories; new music schools were established in Kiev (1863), Saratov (1865), Khar'kiv (1871), Tbilisi (1871)

[95] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 83.
[96] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 155.
[97] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 189-90.

and Odessa (1886), all of which were accorded the status of State conservatories in the years immediately prior to the 1917 Revolution. While the branches in different cities did not require centralized training for those who performed in or directed ensembles in the society, they did share the goals of promoting Russian composers, and performing newly-composed works. This aspiration closely mirrored the emphasis of the State to validate the sacrosanct status of Russian composers through routine church performances. The question arises then, why did these two entities, with similar objectives of promoting the status of Russian music find themselves in such stark contrast and disagreement? Several components factored into this conflict. The State focused on Russian composers of past generations that wrote in a particular style, and of course, in the sacred tradition. Members of the Russian Musical Society set their sights on furthering the composition of new works, in order to develop an independent voice of Russian classical music to rival that of their European counterparts. To the church leaders, the era of modern composers committed grievances against the past sacred traditions by using secular and even foreign texts, regularly included instrumental accompaniment in vocal works, and much too closely imitated trends of the Western-styled musicians.

The conservatory offered training that when completed granted the same degree of "*Svobodniy khudzhnik*" (Free Artist) as the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, comparable to a midrange civil-service rank with a bureaucratic title. Such status enabled the individual to hold positions among middle-class workers, entitled one to live in big cities, and exemption from the poll tax (not abolished until 1886), therefore gaining more legal and purchasing rights. Socially, this level of civil servant gained the respectful address of the second person plural (most formal

grammatical version) by social superiors.[98] In the stratification of Russian society prior to this opportunity, musicians had no more rights than peasants.[99] Structurally, the Conservatory functioned similarly to the German and French models. Students gained performing experience through a variety of recitals, concerts, and showcases, both closed recitals (for beginning students), open recitals (showcasing more advanced students), and competitive public recitals beginning in 1870-1871 presenting the most impressive students, thus demonstrating the institute's success. Semester exams and evaluations assessed progress, determining advancement to future courses, fulfilling graduation requirements (including questioning in theoretical and general musical subjects), or determining necessary expulsion from the program.[100]

Quickly outgrowing the walls of the Mikhailovsky Palace, Pavlovna convinced the Ministry of Finance to allocate one of its buildings free of charge, located on Zagorodniĭ prospekt (Zagorodniĭ Street). While this arrangement did not include financial assistance from the Ministry of Finance, it did prove the willingness of the government to "ensure its institutional viability."[101] By the mid-1880s, the student body had expanded from less than 200 students in 1862 to nearly 800, making the Conservatory's building inadequate. Thanks to a gift from Alexander III, the former Bolshoi Theater was granted as the permanent home for the conservatory. Regardless of the initial proviso that no State funds be used for renovations, the State eventually supplied nearly two million rubles for the building's reconstruction, the majority of the costs.[102] Once again, though the Society and Conservatory executed the majority of

[98] Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 46.
[99] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 33.
[100] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 104.
[101] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 108-09.
[102] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 110.

administrative and executive matters, State financing provided the advancement needed to achieve its national and eventually international stature.

Initially, the conservatory employed mostly German faculty and produced Italian operas. The practice of the German musical tradition combined with the perceived social elevation that students gained by attending the conservatory fostered resistance, particularly from Slavophiles who pushed for purity of national character and traditions, opposing the transplantation of foreign institutions.[103] Combined with the distaste for Pavlovna's German heritage, Rubinstein suffered criticism for imposing "all the tastes and ideas of the German conservatories he knew,"[104] as well as bigotry due to his Jewish heritage while serving as the director of the Russian Musical Society and St. Petersburg Conservatory. Racism towards Jews in Russia during the nineteenth century abounded. Active political and social groups such as the Black Hundred's (*Chornaya sotnya*) organized by ultra-nationalists generally identified with anti-Semitic and anti-monarchist politics.[105] Balakirev, a member of the Black Hundreds "actually founded a folk-school of sorts, such as Stasov had described in opposition to the conservatory – the so-called Free Music School, where only 'rudiments' were taught, the whole faculty was ethnically Russian, and no Jew could apply for instruction."[106] In contrast, the conservatory served as a path of emancipation for Jewish musicians, as the "Free Artist" degree offered them most importantly the right to make residence beyond the pale of settlement (*chertá osédlosti* – the term given to a region in which permanent residency by Jews was allowed and beyond which Jewish permanent residency was generally prohibited). Additionally, the conservatory functioned as privately administrated classes, which were not subject to government quotas enforced about the

[103] Taruskin, *On Russian Music*, 36-37.
[104] Taruskin, "Non-Nationalists and Other Nationalists," 137. This is a quotation from an article by Vladimir Stasov, an ardent opponent of Rubinstein and the St. Petersburg Conservatory model.
[105] Oleh Protsyk and Benedikt Harzl, *Managing Ethnic Diversity in Russia* (London, UK: Routledge, 2013), 171.
[106] Taruskin, *On Russian Music*, 38.

percentage of Jews allowed to enroll.[107] Conflicts of national identity, particularly race and religion, influenced professional relationships, and motivated stylistic decisions of composers from both sides. With the sponsorship of Rimsky-Korsakov, one of their beloved composition teachers, alumni of the St. Petersburg Conservatory formed a society for the advancement of Jewish composers (Society for Jewish Folk Music) in 1908.[108]

Along with racial turmoil, challenges to the conventions of gender in Russia also found root in the Conservatory. Females dominated the areas of vocal, harp, and piano study within the school, comprising more than half (57%) of the student body in the fall of 1868.[109] The vocal and piano departments attracted the highest status students, from privileged estates. These statistics drew criticism, primarily because most did not pursue professional careers as musicians. Women often used their musical skills to facilitate marital prospects. Customs limited female students to careers as a music teacher or governess. Legally, women "did not hold service ranks and their social position was usually defined by their relationships to their fathers or husbands rather than by any acquired, professional status."[110] Accomplishments as a vocalist or pianist held connotations of femininity associated with domestic social occasions. Therefore, the interest of elevating professional musicianship among social and legal standing viewed feminine dominance as a deterrent. Many male musicians "perceived women as undermining the social standing of the profession by the very modesty of their claims."[111] This is not to say that some women did not step onto the public stage following their conservatory education, mostly as singers or

[107] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 156.
[108] Taruskin, *On Russian Music*, 194-95.
[109] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 90.
[110] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 142.
[111] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 145.

pianists. These women challenged behavioral expectations, demanded higher wages, and renegotiated their position among intellectual, economic, and political life.[112]

Significant credit is given to the Conservatory as an instigator of the development of Russian civil society. Sargeant describes the progress the Russian Musical Society and St. Petersburg Conservatory achieved in gaining authority over ideals of national identity: "Although private institutions, the conservatories openly aspired to, and ultimately achieved, iconic status, eventually becoming repositories of Russian cultural identity. In retrospect, in the establishment of the conservatories, the State abdicated its role as the builder of national culture, and consequently national identity, to educated society."[113] Curriculum not only taught technical training and theoretical knowledge to students, but classroom and performance training "encoded a particular conception of the social role of music."[114]

Under the auspices of the Russian Musical Society, the St. Petersburg Conservatory established as a private institution, however, not remote from State influences. For example, government officials attended conservatory examinations by appointment.[115] Legal positions of faculty remained weak, an oddity for those who were previously social elites. An 1878 charter regards conservatory professors in State service, although with highly restricted rights. In the case of promotion, professors did not earn advancement based on time of service, but required

[112] Praskovia (Kovaleva) Zhemchugova (1768-1803) and Ekaterina Semenova (1786-1849) made successful careers as singers and actresses. Alexandra Panaeva (1853-1942) and Nadezhda Zabela-Vrubel (1868-1913) were famous singers on the operatic stages. Valetina Serova (1846-1924), the wife of Alexander Serov, studied piano under Rubinstein and made a career as an opera composer. Evgeniia Lineva (1853/4-1919) begun her career as a professional singer, then became the most prominent female musicologist of the time with her use of the phonograph to transcribe Russian folksongs. Wendy Rosslyn and Alessandra Tosi, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Russia: Lives and Culture* (Cambridge, UK: OpenBook Publishers, 2012), 130-55.
[113] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 84.
[114] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 103.
[115] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 33.

request by the chair of the Society.[116] Both faculty and students fought to gain legal rights, tuition controls, and curriculum standards that would legitimize the Conservatory's professional standing. Until protests following the 1905 uprisings, "the conservatories, music schools, and classes of the Society remained under the purview of the Ministry of Internal Affairs."[117] Though riddled with their own challenges, these institutions influenced the cultural developments surrounding musical composition in St. Petersburg.

The RMS and the St. Petersburg Conservatory acted as the landmark institutions in the advancement of public performances and musical education in Russia; however, their choral ensembles were rarely the highlight of performances, or at the forefront of their academic mission. Their choral ensembles had little chance to compete with the Imperial Court Chapel Choir and Arkhangelsky's choir. The professional choirs outside of the academic institutions replaced the Court Chapel after the deterioration of its monopoly near the end of the century. The RMS and Conservatory programmed music according to the trends of popular demand. Orchestral works of primarily German composers dominated many programs. Operatic productions of foreign and new Russian works were regularly heard as well. Popularity of solo instrumental and chamber performances cultivated following the reception of Franz Liszt (1811-1886) in Russia in the late 1840s, among other famous pianists touring internationally. Most choral performances included large-scale masterpieces of the Western classical tradition in the form of cantatas and oratorios. Smaller sets contained Russian music of both the traditional composers of sacred music, contemporary sacred cantatas, and newly-composed Russian pieces. In summary, though they did not abandon the Russian sacred repertoire entirely, the concerts of

[116] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 126.
[117] Sargeant, *Harmony and Discord: Music and the Transformation of Russian Cultural Life*, 253.

the Russian Musical Society and St. Petersburg Conservatory performed a variety of works, not limited to particular genres, or specific composers.

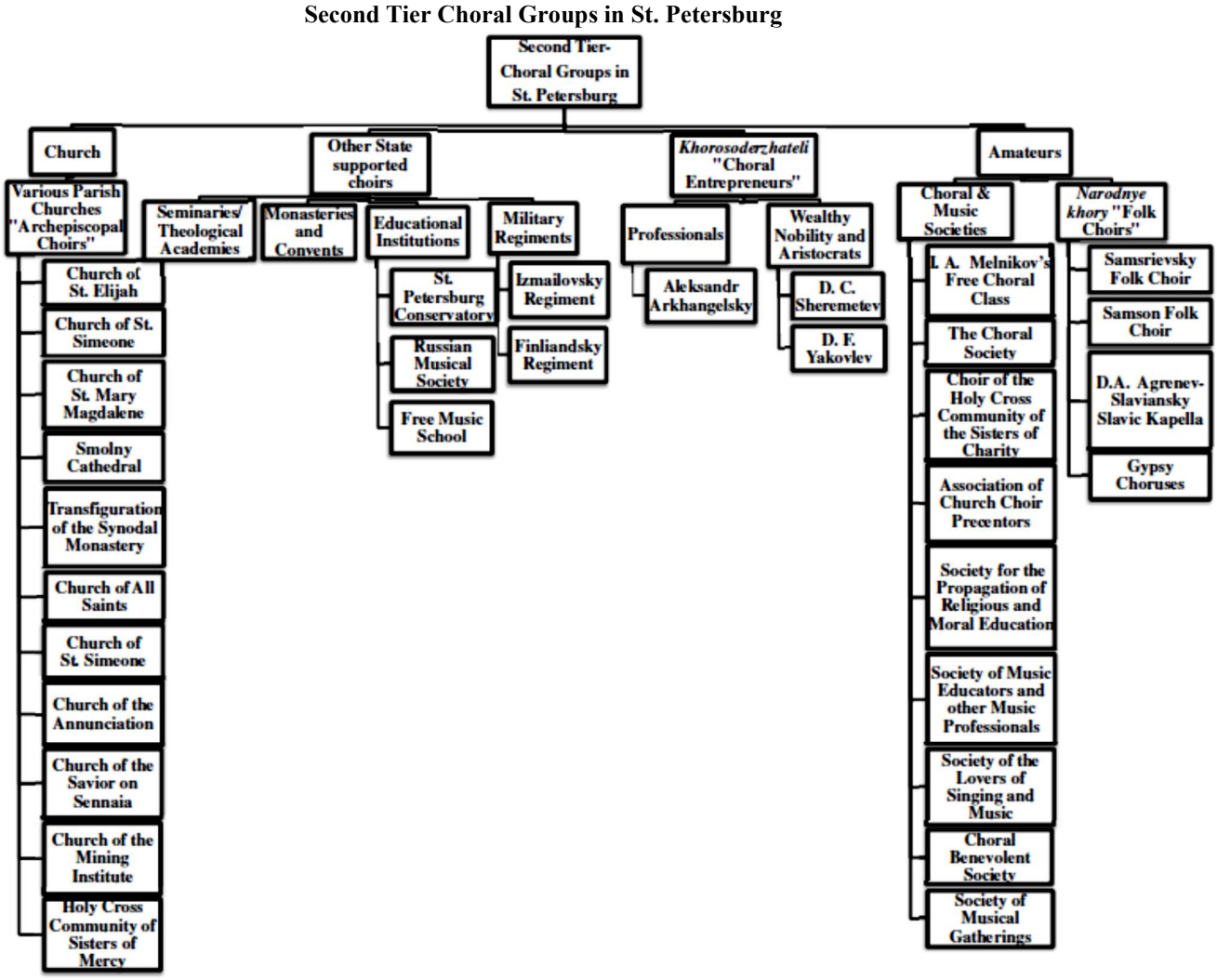

Figure 2-3: Second tier choral groups in St. Petersburg organized by type.

Music Among the People: Independent Societies and Schools

As seen here in the chart of second tier choral groups, in comparison to the plethora of church parishes in St. Petersburg, choral societies numbered more than any other type of choirs post-

1860s. Contributing to a growing concert life in St. Petersburg, choral societies mainly pursued performance of secular choral works as a social and cultural pursuit. These societies stimulated the rate of composition of secular part-songs and folk-song arrangements, a new contribution to the Russian choral repertoire. An author in the musical journal *Nuvellist*, a contemporary Russian publication in the French language, argued "that amateur societies, in particular, helped create a thriving domestic market for vocal and keyboard music in several urban centers, including Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, and Kiev."[118] The growth of amateur societies also aided in the creation of a consumer market for music publishing firms and instrument builders.[119]

In St. Petersburg, the newly-formed musical societies offered these citizens a form of entertainment and socialization, which included not only attending musical events, but also participation in study and performance. Among those subsidized by the government, some private societies formed in order to provide inexpensive or free musical education and entertainment. The *Bestplatnaya muzykalnaia shkola* (Free Music School, also called Free School of Singing) became the most successful of these independent musical societies. These types of societies served as sites for collective identities to manifest amongst lower-class citizens during a time when the definition of "Russianness" was under dispute. Social gatherings purposed with making music contributed to the dialogue of nationalism crossing boundaries of social class.

In 1862, immediately after the reforms, the *Besplatnaia muzykalnaia shkola* (Free Music School), was founded in St. Petersburg by Mily Balakirev and Gavriil Lomakin.[120] Under the direction of Balakirev and Lomakin, the Free Music School offered musical classes at no cost,

[118] Anne Swartz, *Piano Makers in Russia in the Nineteenth Century* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2014), 30.
[119] Swartz, *Piano Makers in Russia in the Nineteenth Century*, 47.
[120] Di Grazia, *Nineteenth-Century Choral Music*, 432.

with the aim of developing Russian choral music. Because this institution did not receive State funding, and was not considered an official teaching institution, it fell under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, rather than the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of the Imperial Court. It was not qualified to award degrees or certificates, but the high-quality training of singers and the teaching of church music raised the question of the Kapella's monopoly on training qualifications.[121] Curriculum included vocal training, church singing, and solfeggio, as well as elementary music theory. From the 1860s to 1880s, the Free Music School choir competed fiercely with the standards of other musical societies, regularly giving public concerts alongside the choirs of Alexander Arkhangelsky and Count Dmitry Sheremetev.[122] As a burgeoning space of musical expression among musicians unbounded by financial restraints, the Free Music School primarily served as a viable source of performances for contemporary Russian composers.

The choral class met three nights a week, with a collective rehearsal on Sunday evenings. These classes, which would have the highest weekly attendance on Sundays, included solfège, voice training, church chant, music theory, and violin for potential singing teachers as was commonly used for training purposes in place of a keyboard. The curriculum included European music, but taught at a less technically demanding level than at the Conservatory. Most attendees had no previous musical training and the courses produced no outstanding figures in professional musical circles. The student demographics consisted mostly of members of the middle and lower classes: factory workers, sales assistants, seamstresses, chambermaids, shopkeepers, and the like.

[121] The *ukaz* (decree) of 1847 declared that all precentors for the Orthodox Church must hold certification from the Imperial Court Chapel Kapella. Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 35.
[122] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 97.

As students were charged nothing to participate in the classes and choruses, the school was funded by its own concert incomes. Cui described this and the crowds at such concerts:

> The School's financial resources are limited; two concerts support it for a whole year… and the public crowds in to these concerts from all over; the huge hall of the Assembly of the Nobility is always filled to capacity and produces full-house returns at the box office.[123]

While this income covered basic needs, in the same article Cui also reflected on the difficulty this financial status entailed, demanding that two men teach several hundred people, as well as the narrow syllabus offered to students. During Lomakin's eight-year tenure, his choral course welcomed hundreds of students, in the second year alone over 300. Some of the most memorable of performances were those given by the 300-voice choir under Lomakin's direction. As Lomakin himself related:

> Before that [first concert, on February 25, 1863] little attention had been paid to choral singing, but since the public performance of the Free Music School's choir, one notices how those in the choral profession, out of a sense of competition, have begun to seek the greatest possible perfection, thereby greatly uplifting this area of the arts.[124]

Cui described the mixture of students found at the Free Music School as factory workers, sales assistants, shopkeepers, and some representatives of the middle class. Disparaging the musicianship of non-professional performers in his writing, Cui reveals his standard of quality demanded for the status of professional musicians. In his review of the chorus's concert from *Muzyka i teatr* (*Music and Theater*) from 1867 addressed the selection of pieces and arrangements that made the performance leaving much to be desired:

> On the 6th of March was the second annual concert of Gavriil Lomakin's Free Music School. On the musical side, this concert was so not wonderful, but let us ask ourselves,

[123] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 87. *St. Petersburg Bulletin*, 15 March 1864, no. 60, 8-11.
[124] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 118.

> in what way is a celebrated performance different from concerts with other choirs? Rather is it just in a particularly poor choice of choral pieces of the program (other than the pretty, but the familiar chorus Dargomyzhsky)? Was it worth a whole year preparing the bad pieces? Followers of Lomakin will excuse him this time because of the incident, that the program of the concert has undergone considerable change three days before the execution as a result of the statements by Starovsky opposing two of the eight designated numbers. But that would be unfair. What numbers were suspended by Stellovsky? 1) One orchestral piece, the Oriental dances from Act 4 of *Ruslan*, which Balakirev had transcribed from two bands into one; 2) A chorus: the introduction of the opera, one which is well known to the public. With regard to the "Oriental dance," defense is given to the actions of Starovsky as this case is cleared up more in print media—let us say here that the brilliant music of Glinka, of course, cannot be heard in full effect when performing forces are reduced from the requirements of the original score. If the author has expressed his thoughts in a duet, such as a dialogue between the two orchestras: the military on stage and of an ordinary opera, variation may be allowed only as a practical necessity (like for execution on a miniature Prague scene) but as not put on show like new and capital gain for the St. Petersburg audience! This should be done modifying complexities to the simplest form such as turning dialogue into a monologue as long as it is done with full respect to the original thought and full understanding of orchestral production.[125]

The chorus's performances received enthusiastic reviews from the critics regarding technicality and mastery of nuance, from such as Alexander Serov who wrote:

> The singing of the chorus [displayed] crescendos from a barely audible pianissimo, almost whispered by the great mass of voices, to a deafeningly loud forte; there was distinctness and clarity in every sound… thousands of nuances… a complete fusing together of the mass of voices into a single entity, obedient to the slightest gesture of the conductor's hand; the union of the performers with the will of the conductor was absolute… as one heard the strains of genuine musicality – sincere, warm, and [filled with] pure love towards the activity at hand, which one so rarely encounters in St. Petersburg – and the results were marvelous!'[126]

Though a historical observation, the Soviet writer Daniil Lokshin pointed to the choir of the Free Music School under Lomakin as "the leader not only in repertoire but also in the style of performance. The singing of the choir embodied the best national realistic tendencies… which

[125] *Muzyka i teatr (Music and Theater)*, (St. Petersburg, RU: A. Iogansen, 1867), March, No. 23, 13. Translated by author. See Appendix A: D-1 for original Russian.
[126] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 118.

garnered the support of only the progressive contingents in Russian society."[127] It is interesting to see here the definition of nationalistic tendencies qualified as realistic, as well as the assessment of how the progressives of this era were the "only" Russians in society interested in this version of nationalism. Confirming this historical theory, the reflection by Vladimir Stasov articulated his definition of self and the authentic version of Russian music as represented by the performance of the Free Music School:

> Little by little not only Russian solo singers, but the Russian chorus and orchestra as well, developed their own unique manner and character, which we ourselves do not always recognize due to our habitual closeness to them, but which undoubtedly are manifest… That which is 'our own' in the orchestra and chorus developed little by little from the time of Glinka and Dargomyzhsky, and was preserved to the greatest degree and most authentically in the performance of the Free Musical School.[128]

In a review by Serov, Lomakin's instruction and leadership received tribute:

> The choir of the Free School has been brought to a pitch of perfection such as we never even dreamed of in St. Petersburg. Under Lomakin's direction it constitutes a single whole, like an enormous organ utterly obedient to the skilled hand that played upon it. The harmonious quality of performance and the fullness of sound are quite out of the ordinary; the listener is astounded when the voices start to swell, grow stronger and finally burst out in a stupendous forte. But perhaps an even stronger impression is made when this enormous choir singers in a whisper: one hears a distant rumble, but a rumble with a definite sound, a prolonged and even rumble. Whether a gradual change from piano to forte is needed or a sudden strong attack – all these the choir can do uniformly well. And no wonder: Lomakin's well-earned fame as the most excellent choirmaster and teacher of choral singing is too firmly consolidated to need to say any more about it; he can scarcely have any rivals in this field – not only here in Russia but abroad – for it is impossible to imagine a choir raised to a higher level of perfection. [Cui postpones a verdict on the charge that Lomakin is good only in semi-religious andantes, but finds him guilty of incompetence as an orchestral conductor.] Leaving that aside, Lomakin's services have been colossal: he has prepared extraordinary material that an expert conductor can exploit. And we can expect such a conductor to emerge in the person of Balakirev. In the same concert he proved that he is a masterly orchestral conductor; it is desirable that the conducting of choruses in which the orchestra plays an important part

[127] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 118.
[128] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 118.

> should also pass to him (of course no one could conceivably replace Lomakin in choruses without orchestra or with a slender accompaniment).[129]

In his 1869 article, Borodin sang praises of the Free Music School for its contribution to the knowledge of choral repertoire, expanding the base of listeners and performers with their high-quality concerts:

> The concerts of the Free School have always held a conspicuous place among concerts whose significance is truly musical. They have been notable not only for good performance of orchestral and choral things but also for the extraordinarily interesting choice of repertory. The programmes have been made up of many wonderful works of lively current interest for the art of music that are largely unfamiliar to our public or else very rarely performed here. In spite of the brief existence of the School and the small number of its concerts, it has already succeeded in acquainting the public with many excellent works of unquestionable importance for the development of the art of music, but which have until now been the property of only a very small group of inveterate enthusiasts and connoisseurs of music. The School has thus done much for the spread of musical education among the mass of the public and has ensured for itself a place as a serious musical institution. The present concert [held on 16 February 1869] belongs among its most remarkable. This time the Free School gave us the opportunity of hearing in an excellent performance one of the most interesting and fundamental works of contemporary art – the *Te Deum* of Berlioz.[130]

Unfortunately detrimental over time, the central goals of the co-founders did not align. Lomakin focused on the advancement of choral music and training, whereas Balakirev had little interest in choral music, using the school as an avenue to promote works of the progressive generation of Russian composers primarily producing instrumental works. Following Lomakin's departure (1868), the Free Music School continued choral training and singing, but emphasis shifted to instrumental music under the directorship of Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov. One professor teaching at the Free Music School stated that during this era, "little or no attention was paid to choral classes. If choral pieces appeared on a concert programme, it was only the

[129] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 88.
[130] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 191.

repetition of pieces learned and performed under Lomakin."[131] During his directorship, Balakirev diverted his attention away from the school's chorus following Lomakin's departure, focusing instead on the orchestral classes and performances. It was not until the appointment of Rimsky-Korsakov in 1874, after Balakirev left the Free Music School, that the chorus again received equal attention as the orchestra. The first concert under Rimsky-Korsakov's direction, on 15 March 1875, featured choruses from Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, Allergi's *Miserere*, and "Kyrie" from Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, excerpts from Bach's Mass in B minor, and Handel's oratorios. Rimsky-Korsakov composed a number of choral works during his association with the choir: Six Unaccompanied Choruses, Opus 16, and the Fourth Variations and Fughetta on a Russian Song Theme, Opus 14. Similarly, for concerts of the Free Music School other composers completed works such as the "Polovetsian Dances" and the closing choruses from *Kniaz Igor* (*Prince Igor*) by Borodin, and the "Persian Dance" from *Khavanshchina* (*The Khavansky Affair*) by Musorgsky.[132] Other known works performed by the Free Music School chorus include the opera choruses by Glinka, Dargomyzhsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Rubinstein, and Borodin.

> The second concert of the free school, as the former concerts, always featuring novelties, presented to the audience two new works; Glazunov's second Overture for orchestra on a Greek theme (from the collection of L. Bourgault-Ducoudray), and symphonic poem for orchestra based on a poem of Lermontov's "Tamara," by Balakirev. Both are performed in the first half. Although the program did not indicate it, the choir performed "Meeting the Prince" from the opera of Borodin *Prince Igor*. From evidence of past concert programs, we believe that this number was performed for the first time. *Tamara* by Balakirev is a vast orchestral work that positively tires listeners. Is impossible to say that the music of Balakirev was at the height of powerful expression of Lermontov. The main interest of the poem by Balakirev is how it consists of perfect orchestral and harmonic beauty. The chorus of Borodin made such a good impression so much that it was repeated, at the request of the public. Representing from itself nothing particularly

[131] Robert C. Ridenour, *Nationalism, Modernism and Personal Rivalry in Nineteenth-Century Russian Music* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), 171.
[132] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 118-19.

> outstanding, it bears the imprint of the national spirit, not devoid of movement and warmth. We have to mention the Symphony in D minor by Schumann, which is charming and rich in inspiration, as well as the final chorus from the opera *The Maid of Pskov*, by Rimsky-Korsakov. The chorus prays over the corpse, untimely deceased Olga. Written in the polyphonic style of the old masters of the west, this choir is not devoid of a certain grandeur. The chorus is interrupted by the singing of Ivan the Terrible, immersed in grief the death of Olga. Beautiful musical phrases of Ivan Goznago, however, are devoid of all drama befitting such a moment.[133]

Success of an institution that collected no fees, tuition, or membership dues like the Free Music School magnifies the changing dynamic of musical life in St. Petersburg. More people had time and expressed interest in learning music beyond the tradition of oral transmission. With that, some professionals felt compelled to make this kind of education available to a broad base of citizens, regardless of social standing, ethnic background, or class association. The Free Music School practiced the freedom to choose repertoire that interested their students of performance, as well as reached their audiences. Firmly advocating for the expansion of musical education to multiple social classes, the Free Music School always accentuated works of Russian composers in studies and concerts. Performances combined with the opera chorus of the Mariinsky Theater assumingly included non-sacred works and operatic excerpts. Post 1870, the Free Music School performances incorporated large-scale choral works of both European and Russian composers and emphasized the works of progressive composers under the direction of Azanchevsky. The exclusion of Jews as either faculty or students in this institution reveals the ethnic, racial, and religious qualifier required for participation in this musical institution. In the case of the staff and attending members, Judaism voided one's ability to identify as Russian.

The independent society, *Besplatnyĭ khorovoĭ klass I. A. Melnikova* (I. A. Melnikov's Free Choral Class) was established in 1890, thanks to the funding of the famous Russian baritone

[133] *Muzykalnyĭ mir (Musical World)*, March 1883, No.11, 5. Translated by author. See Appendix A: C-2 for original Russian.

Ivan Melnikov (1832-1906). Amidst his career on the opera stage, Melnikov studied with Lomakin in 1861 and participated in the Free Music School concerts from 1862 until 1866. Melnikov witnessed the slowing of activities by the Free Music School and chose to finance the class with the aim of furthering the cause of amateur, recreational choral singing in Russia. Melnikov knew Fëdor Bekker from their work together at the Mariinsky Theater. Bekker was invited to conduct and lead the class from its inception. Only four years later, Bekker suffered a stroke, reported to have affected his personality adversely. However, the concerts continued to receive rave reviews. Sergei Rybakov wrote in 1897:

> Such tuning, cleanliness, and expressiveness can be achieved only by a first-class artist-conductor… The choir has mastered the most subtle nuances of performance, from barely audible pianissimo to a mighty fortissimo… Bekker at times underscores the meaning of a text a little excessively, as a result of which the performance takes on a certain dramatic quality… in comparison with traditional performance [of sacred works.][134]

Bekker began by programming Western choral works for concerts, many of which had not been heard before in Russia. Contributing to the increase in choral composition, composers including Chaikovsky, Cui, Arensky, Grechaninov, and Taneev wrote works specifically for the Free Choral Class with Bekker's encouragement. Between 1894 and 1900 the group fluctuated from 150-300 singers in size. For example, in the 1896-97 season, the choir numbered 26 first-trebles, 20 second-trebles, 19 first-altos, 12 second-altos, 25 first-tenors, 20 second-tenors, 17 first-basses, 11 second-basses for a total of 150 members.[135]

Even with few specifics of the repertoire performed by Melnikov's class, it can be safely assumed that non-sacred works regularly appeared under its directors who had made careers at the Mariinsky Theater. The few names given at least show the inclusion of contemporary

[134] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 120.
[135] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 143.

composers in their performance canon, and that both sacred and secular music was included by these musicians: Chaikovsky, Cui, Arensky, Grechaninov, and Taneev. The most popular choral works of Arensky at this time were sacred pieces, though he wrote more secular choral pieces in his total output. The majority of Grechaninov's choral works are sacred; in contrast, the bulk of Taneev's choral pieces are secular. From this short survey it is evident that a variety of texts both sacred and secular were likely included in their performance catalog. Whether they performed works of earlier Russian composers or European composers is unclear.

At least a dozen choral societies functioned simultaneously in St. Petersburg in the 1880s and 1890s. The Russian Musical Society and the Free Music School retained the most documentation, receiving the most attention from scholars. However, other groups such as the Association of Church Choir Precentors, Society of Music Educators and Other Music Professionals, Church Society for the Propagation of Religious and Moral Education, St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings, Choral Benevolent Society, Circle of Church Music Lovers, and Choral Society receive mention and some data from the contemporary journals and leaflets on music. Most societies supported local performances available to middle and lower class members, often with the purpose of fundraising for their charitable cause of choice.

These music societies played a significant role in the expansion of musical activity in St. Petersburg, allowing for a broader experience of cultural shaping to occur through musical performance. As financially supported by outside sources, these societies incurred some influence from the upper class. This is evident in the repertoire that emphasized Western European classical music, particularly the operatic and symphonic genres. Russian music was promoted among these groups, but generally following in the form of the Western classical genres. This sentiment was manifest in choral music through the popularity of composing and

performing choral cantatas and other large-scale orchestral choral works by those working for these institutions.

Lesser-Known Choral Societies

While many societies escaped the hand of the State for financial stability, gaining independent status in the 1880s. "By 1830, the amateur societies served as a bridge between the popular culture (represented by the eighteenth-century song-romance and the comic opera) and the traditional repertoire of the Russian Church sung by the members of the court choir."[136] The status of these groups still rendering ideological support from the government shaped the acceptable norms of public treatment even among critics towards them. Criticism is difficult to find, as documented in the 1830s reviews of concerts by amateurs forcibly received favorable reviews, seeing as the societies in existence at this point functioned under the sponsorship of the State.

> In keeping with the manners and customs of the court, public criticism of performance of the amateur societies was forbidden under the state censorship regulations…writers on music were not permitted to criticize publicly an aspect of the performances of the court-sponsored amateur societies, not were critics free to argue the artistic merits of individual society members. Critics were not permitted to identify in the press or in any type of public forum, the names of the nobility or musicians associated with the court, ostensibly, because they might suffer from loss of social status as a result of negative publicity.[137]

Foreign societies and performers earned no such prescribed protection from public critique.

Choral societies emerged from among Protestant churches growing in Russia as well. Russian, German, and Baltic Baptists along with the Mennonite Brethren produced notable music. From these church affiliations, 188 choral societies or choirs were active, with 3,630

[136] Swartz, *Piano Makers in Russia in the Nineteenth Century*, 47.
[137] Swartz, *Piano Makers in Russia in the Nineteenth Century*, 47.

participants. This number grew to 4,548 by 1912 from just these ensembles, which included women's and men's choirs, Polish and Czech choirs, and a variety of instruments as part of their performance teams. Festivals of choirs and instrumental groups offered a popular shared-cultural experience, even crossing denominational and social barriers.[138] The following descriptions and first-hand accounts from these societies help to paint a picture of the vast network of music-making in St. Petersburg.

The Concert Society (1859-1880s) began thanks to Aleksei Lvov, who studied and played violin on his family estate under German tutelage. Stites describes this society as "the last important musical body formed before the advent of the Russian Musical Society."[139] During his time as Maestro of the Imperial Chapel (1839-1861), Lvov allowed the Philharmonia concerts to take place at the large concert hall, even with the use of the Imperial Chapel singers on occasion. However, when the Philharmonic Society reverted to featuring Italian opera excerpts, Lvov launched his own organization, displaying his disdain for the influx of foreign opera. With the help of Rezvoĭ, the Vielgorsky family, and Odoyevsky, the Concert Society aimed to promote European symphonic music, especially that of Beethoven. Contrary to Lvov's supposed reasoning for the schism with the Philharmonia, they also recruited famous Italian singers for the stage. Performances catered to a select audience. The price of tickets alone would have limited the audience, at ten rubles for men and six for women to attend the three annual concerts. Other forms of clearance to admittance were employed such as invitation lists, and reprivatizing the musical space to homes, rather than performing in public venues. Other than the works by Lvov and Vielgorsky, the society rarely performed works by Russian composers.[140]

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[138] Albert W. Wardin, *On the Edge: Baptists and Other Free Church Evangelicals in Tsarist Russia, 1855-1917* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013), 432.
[139] Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power*, 103.
[140] Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power*, 103.

The St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings published its notes and announcements in its own leaflet, the *Izvestiia S.Peterburgskago obchestva muzykalnix sobraniĭ* (*Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings*). Evidence from my findings shows that this publication existed at least from the years 1896 to 1904. This journal article from 1896 gives the date of the first concert appearance in 1894:

> There were two private assemblies in the current season; they took place on the premises of the St. Petersburg School of Music. The first took place on 13 December 1894 with the participation of the choral society, Misters Borovka and Hildebrandt and the storyteller of epics, Irina Fedorova (of the Olonepkoĭ province). The program included: 1) Sonata for Piano and Viola by A. Rubinstein, 2) three choruses from *The Maid of Pskov*, and 3) some old folk songs and epics. A second private meeting held on 23 February 1895 was devoted to the post of honorary member of the society, C.A. Cui; author of *Russian Romance: A Sketch of its Development*.[141]

Voicing the regular occurrence of patronage for public performances, this 1896 article thanked those who provided assistance to the Society:

> Having received the foregoing authority, the Society Board immediately began formulating a choir and entered into negotiations with the firm V. Bessel and about acquiring the necessary choral and orchestral resources, as well as pianos for the opera *The Maid of Pskov*. However, the Council attended to finding suitable premises for private meetings and choir rehearsals. In view of the very limited funds of the Society, this question has presented great difficulties which can be permitted only by special courtesy of these patrons: the Director of the St. Petersburg Conservatory, an honorary member of the Society, Y. I. Iogansen, Director of the St. Petersburg Music School, member of the Society, I. A. Borovka, the representative to the piano storehouse, Herman Grossman, board member E. J. Dlussky, and the administration of the Small theatre, providing the public a chance to gather in the premises at their disposal.[142]

Also in 1896, a report was made about necessities required in the coming year, along with the announcement of the upcoming years program, and declaration of leadership titles:

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[141] *Izvestiia S.Peterburgskago obchestva muzykalnykh sobraniĭ (Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings)*, (St. Petersburg, RU: E. Arngolda, 1896), No. 9, 6-7. Translated by author. See Appendix A: E-2 for original Russian.

[142] *Izvestiia S.Peterburgskago obchestva muzykalnykh sobraniĭ (Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings)*, 1896, No. 9, 4. Translated by author. See Appendix A: E-1 for original Russian.

> The Report of the Council. Gracious ladies and gentlemen. During the annual general meeting it was decided to approve the proposal of the society to perform the opera *Boris Godunov* by Mussorgsky, with the refinement of Nikolai A. Rimsky-Korsakov. Accordingly, in the next spring we will purchase much needed elements for the chorus and orchestra, as well as for the keyboardists, and begin to train the opera chorus. Choir rehearsals will be led by the honorary member of the society N. Rimsky-Korsakov, also acting as a chairman of the society with A. A. Davydov and comrade Chairman M. A. Gelderblom. A special task has been allocated to the council towards finding a hall for performances of the opera. Although, in view of the limited funds at the disposal of the society, this duty presented considerable difficulty. It was resolved with the assistance of the Directorate of the Russian Musical Society, which provided our society the Great Hall of the Conservatory for a relatively modest fee.[143]

The Society of Music Educators and Other Musical Professionals served the purpose of mutual assistance in favor of the needy, through musical concerts, lectures, and opera performances. This society began under the patronage of the Grand Duke Sergei Mikhailovich. Multiple sources provide dates of the beginning of the Society of Music Educators and Other Musical Professionals: 1889, 1900, and 1901. However, it seems most likely due to the following article that the society began in 1900 or 1901. Describing basic organization of the Society and admittance requirements for those interested, an announcement took place in 1901 in the journal *Muzykalno-teatralnyĭ sovremennik* (*Contemporary Musical Theater*):

> In the meeting room of the Society of Music Teachers and Other Music Professionals (Gorokhovaia, 46), carried the vote on the testing for amateur choir of the Society, was organized by Tuholka, the gifted choirmaster ardently devoted to the cause of choral singing. So far, 75 people are enrolled. The forms of the chorus have been agreed upon for free participation in the arranged public concerts, musical and vocal gatherings, public meetings, and so on. For admission to the choir is required a voice and the ability to read sheet music. As already said, managing the chorus will be V. A. Tuholka.[144]

Confirming the start date of 1900, the address book *Ves Peterburg* (All Petersburg) traced the locations of the society between the years 1900 to 1907. The society is documented in 1900 as

[143] *Izvestiia S.Peterburgskago obchestva muzykalnykh sobraniĭ (Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings)*, 12. Translated by author. See Appendix A: E-3 for original Russian.
[144] *Muzykalno-teatralnyĭ sovremennik (Contemporary Musical Theater)*, Sept. 1910, No. 36, 10. Translated by author. See Appendix A: B-3 for original Russian.

meeting at the restaurant Milbreta, in 1901 at Gorokhovaia Street, building 46 (the same location referred in the above article), and from 1905 to 1907 meeting on Trinity Street, in building 24.[145]

Some societies, though few, existed before the middle of the century. The Society of Musical Amateurs began in the 1820s and struggled to remain active through the middle of the century, not surprisingly due to the government restrictions. Private performances, described as frequent and well attended, acted as a vehicle for the dissemination of new Russian and European repertoire and "contributed to the upward social mobility of the merchant and commercial classes, including artisans and women."[146] Both amateurs and professional musicians performed in concerts hosted by the Society of Musical Amateurs. Multi-movement works performed by advanced performers took place in public theaters and concert halls, while miniatures and smaller works occurred in domestic and private settings. In 1889, Rubinstein recalled the state of this society as he and Pavlovna designed the Russian Musical Society: "It must be admitted that we conducted our affair with great circumspection. We called to mind the existence of a certain Society of Musical Amateurs which was practically dead; and our plan was to restore it to life, that we might take advantage of its by-laws."[147] A dilapidated society was brought to life with the restoration of Rubinstein and Pavlovna, which became the Russian Musical Society in 1859.

A similarly active group, the St. Petersburg Circle of Musical Amateurs organized concerts for the public in St. Petersburg during the 1880s and 1890s, though there is yet to be found specifics to the commencement of this association. It is mentioned in multiple journals, as

[145] *Ves Peterburg 1894-1917 (All Petersburg 1894-1917)*, vol. 1900, Address and Reference Book (St. Petersburg, RU: A.S.Suvorin, 1900), Online Database by Russian National Library.
[146] Swartz, *Piano Makers in Russia in the Nineteenth Century*, 48.
[147] Daniel Gregory Mason, *Masters in Music* (Boston, MA: Bates & Guild Company, 1903), 3.

well as in documentation of Mussorgsky's concert performances,[148] and biographical information on Liadov, who worked as conductor for the orchestra and chorus. It is possible that this society was a revived version of the previously named Society of Musical Amateurs, but there has not been clear evidence concerning this possibility. Numerous musical drama associations performed parts of operas, full operas, and operettas engaging amateurs only. A special trace in music history was left by the Musical Drama Circle of Amateurs, founded in 1877 by V. V. Karmin, Count A. V. Sollogub, and Count A. D. Nesselrode–all of whom were life-guard officers of the First Artillery Brigade. They met at 18 Bolshaia Morskaia Street at first, and 20 Malaia Morskaia Street in 1900s, holding their musical gatherings at Demut's Hall at 38 Moika River Embankment and at Pavlova's Hall at 13 Troitskaia Square. The circle regularly staged Russian operas in St. Petersburg, including Chaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin* in 1882 and Mussorgsky's *Khovanschina* in 1886.[149]

An announcement of a concert held by the Church Society for Spreading Religious and Moral Education gives the date and performers of the event, but little information about the content of the concert or the society, beyond the praise of Arkhangelsky's ensemble:

> On 28 August, the fortieth day after the death S.V. Smolensky, the Church Society for Spreading Religious and Moral Education, at Stremyannaia, a concert was initiated by the A.A. Arkhangelsky and his choir, which sang with the distinguishing characteristic of their expertise in performing the liturgy and requiem. In the church gathered many admirers and friends of the deceased Stepan Vasilevich Smolensky.[150]

[148] Richard Taruskin, *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 5.
[149] A. L. Porfiryeva, "Music Societies and Circles," http://www.encspb.ru/object/2804033722?lc=en, accessed 8 May 2017.
[150] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, July & August 1909, 233. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-2 for original Russian.

The Society of Musical Gatherings, in which private rendezvous took place in wealthy homes, is referenced in several biographies of the Russian composers of the late-nineteenth century in record of performances where their works were performed, or when they themselves conducted: Rimsky-Korsakov[151] and Mussorgsky.[152] Even with the presence of more public theaters and performance venues in the 1880s, it was not uncommon that private musical events took place in the homes of the nobility. Many aimed to remain fashionable and convey their social status by holding such events; while a less admirable pursuit, they still contributed to the visability of these composers, especially that of the New Russian School.

The St. Petersburg Circle of Music Lovers opened in 1879 with 26 member-performers, including Baron V. A. Frederiks, Baron K. K. Stakelberg, P. K. Albrecht, and Grand Prince Mikhail Mikhailovich. Directors included the Princes Yusopov, Dolgoruky, and Golitsïn.[153] The society held its meetings at the Solianoi Settlement, and did not admit professional musicians or women. Mitrofan Beliaev was included among its members as an influential patron.[154] Another collective, the Circle of Church Music Lovers, performed works spanning from the Baroque era to modern-day including works of *znamenny* chant in harmonized arrangements, with prayer services centered around sacred music repertoire, but did not exclude contemporary composers after the turn of the century. Two announcements from two different journals articulate these elements:

[151] Gerald R. Seaman, *Nikolay Andreevich Rimsky-Korsakov: A Research and Information Guide* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 1, 274.
[152] Caryl Emerson and Robert William Oldani, *Modest Musorgsky and Boris Godunov: Myths, Realities, Reconsiderations* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 110.
[153] Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, 190.
[154] John Michael Cooper and Randy Kinnett, *Historical Dictionary of Romantic Music* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2014), 75.

> April 4 was the concert by the Circle of Church Music Lovers at the Brotherhood of the Blessed Virgin under the direction of A. N. Nikolov. The program was devoted to the experiences of harmonization of znamenny chant from XVII century and ending with pieces of modern sacred work.[155]

> On the 4th of September the opening of classes took place at the Russian Society of Music and Singing Lovers in the new premises of the Cycling Society at Litany Avenue. It served as a prayer service, during which the amateurs sang the chorus. At the end of the prayer service was held a general meeting to determine the amount of membership dues and budgeting. The budget for the coming season is determined in the amount of about 2.5 thousand rubles.[156]

The Choral Society (also called Petersburg Choral Society or Russian Choral Society) received more attention than that of the other small concert societies at this time. Evidence is found regarding the career of Arensky, who conducted concerts of the society from 1889 to 1893, prior to his appointment at the Imperial Chapel.[157] A concert by the society in 1909 was briefly reviewed, with details of the conductor, location, and number of members:

> The Choral Society (500 people) was held under the direction of an experienced director I. J. Chernov who managed to conquer a great army of singers and was lucky enough to hold a concert. Unfortunately, the interest in this concert within the communities was clearly lacking as the hall of the Noble Assembly was far from full.[158]

The author of this article voiced opinions on not only the choir's performance in detail, but compared them to other choral performances in comparison. The author also shared a broader concern about the state of vocal music, particularly the treatment of sacred music:

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[155] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, April 1910, 105. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-17 for original Russian.
[156] *Muzykalno-teatralnyĭ sovremennik (Contemporary Musical Theater)*, 1901 Sept. 8, No. 36, Pg.11. Translated by author. See Appendix A: B-3 for original Russian.
[157] Brown David, "Arensky, Anton Stepanovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/01210, accessed 1 December 2016.
[158] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, July & August 1909, No.7 & 8, 304. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-5 for original Russian.

As a novelty, such concerts a few years ago were really interesting; Now it seems it is necessary to prefer the choir with a small number voices, who is able to give a more subtle rendering in performance. No matter how experienced the leader of the choir, he is still unable to achieve performance excellence, as is more easily reached with the numerically small choir If we add to that the same as a choir gathers only developed twice a year for these concerts, it becomes even more clear the difficulty of extracting its nuances. Not to mention that each of the chorus members of the 500 may have their own special formulation of, its performance manner. All this, plus the fact - the difficulty of collecting a mass at the rehearsals, and therefore the inability to gather a sufficient number of them, speaks to the fact that such prominent concert choirs join as members of this great family. This material would be more beneficial, but about art, it says nothing. Most lovers of spiritual singing soon will go listen to individual choirs such as Arkhangelsky, Alexander Nevsky Lavra (the Metropolitan), and others, more than the concert choir of 500, knowing that from these choirs they get more aesthetic pleasure than from the chorus of 500. The concert program on 6 December consisted of 11 pieces.

1. "Heavenly King" - D. Soloviev
2. "Kontakion[159] of St. Archpriest Matthew" - M. Ippolitov-Ivanov
3. "Praise the Name of the Lord" - V. Samsonenko
4. "Cherubic Hymn" - E. Azeev
5. "Gladsome Light" - P. Chaikovsky
6. "Thou Art Immortal" - A. Kastalsky
7. "I Seek You" - Archpriest P. Turchaninov
8. "Behold My Sorrow" - A. Lvov
9. "Lord, Save the Righteous, and Your Cross" - P. Chesnokov
10. "Praise the Name of the Lord" - A. Grechaninov
11. "The Heavens Declare the Glory of God" - double choir concerto D. Bortniansky

The strongest impression was left by the marvelous works of Alexander Kastalsky "Thou Art Immortal." As performed by this choir, it was very good. I also liked the "Cherubic Hymn" by E. S. Azeev. The beautifully sounding choir in concert, St. Sampson Folk choir, held on 21 November in the hall of the Sampson Christian Brotherhood, absolutely cannot be compared with the above three concerts. Their measure of promoting the composers Goltana, Kompaneiesky, Lisitsyn and Arkhangelsky was sensational. Although the concert gathered a large audience, I am personally convinced of what a shame it is, the disastrous way these gentlemen want to lead the choral art and spiritual music.[160]

[159] Kontakion (Greek. κοντάκιον from κοντός – stick on which was tied a roll of parchment) is a genre of Byzantine hymnography of the Church in the form of a poetic narrative of the sermon devoted to one or another Church holiday.

[160] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, July and August 1909, No. 7 & 8, 305. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-6 for original Russian.

Other societies existed that are referenced in multiple sources, some with dates of origin, but little or no other information. The Circle of Musical and Dramatic Lovers, founded in 1877, conducted full-scale operas. The Society of Music Collections began in 1890, and as the name implies this group acted as a site to house music, like a music library. The central goal of the Glinka Society, founded in 1898, was to spread the name and works of Mikhail Glinka. The Church Singing Charitable Society was founded in 1902 on the initiative of Arkhangelsky. The Evenings of Modern Music began in 1901. The Society of Chamber Music began in 1872 and functioned under this name until 1878. The Association of Church Choir Precentors is mentioned in the *Choral and Precentors Affairs* journal, but with no additional details. Even with few particulars about some groups, the evidence of such a vast network of societies active in St. Petersburg displays the popularity of choral music as a form of entertainment for attendances and the avenue for an expanding array of participatory activities to cultivate identity development.

These choral societies function as the locations for middle- and lower- class Russians to use choral music to shape and consequently express their own class identity independent of government direction, financial obligations, or legal restraints. It is here that the lower class raised their voices, both literally and figuratively, empowered by their own construction of community through choral singing.

Entrepreneurs with Professional Choirs

During the reign of Alexander III (1881-94), art and music functioned as an expression of the newly-found confidence in Russian values. Wealthy, assertive Muscovite businessmen–such as Mamontov, Morozov, and Tretiakov–turned into generous patrons of the arts, established art

collections and inaugurated a private opera company. Concert promoters appeared in various forms during the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century. Entrepreneurial individuals sponsored series of concerts, such as Beliaev beginning in 1885, and Ziloti in the years 1903-1913 in St. Petersburg. In reaction to the dependence on Western classical repertoire by the 1880s, merchant patron and publisher Mitrofan Beliaev sponsored a concert series to promote exclusively contemporary Russian composers. Interestingly, this series of "Russian Symphony Concerts" highlighted composers from just earlier in the century like Arensky, Liadov, and Glazunov. Rather than premiering the works of avant-garde, newly-trained Conservatory graduates, these concerts institutionalized the anti-establishment stance of the new Russian school.[161] Other organized gatherings, such as the "Evenings of Contemporary Music" (1901-12) took place in homes of patrons.[162] These developments combined with the loosening of legal restrictions and weakening of Imperial monopolies contributed to the flourishing of musical associations.

Alexander A. Arkhangelsky (1846-1924) established his independent professional choir in 1880. This ensemble overturned previous models of professional music in St. Petersburg, influencing the culture of choral performances and secular musical business enterprises. Originally, the ensemble was made up of only 20 singers, grew to 50 members after a couple years, and eventually expanded to approximately 120 singers, who made their livings by contracting with churches in smaller groups, or with outside jobs that still allowed them time for daily rehearsals. Arkhangelsky was the first to add women's voices to his chorus to replace boys voices for the higher-range voice parts. This afforded him freedom from constantly training new

[161] Dominic Lieven, ed., *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. 2, Imperial Russia, 1689-1917* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 107.
[162] James Stuart Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1880-1917: An Anthology* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2003), xii.

boys, helping to achieve continuity in his ensemble over the course of his tenure of 43 years (1880-1923). Many singers remained in the choir for 10 to 20 years. This not only created rehearsal and performance consistency, but also allowed the ensemble to develop a largely expanded repertoire in comparison to the institutional choruses at this time. In the *Russkaia muzykalnaia gazeta* (*Russian Musical Gazette*) on the twentieth anniversary of Arkhangleky's concert activities (1903), Nikolai Kompaneisky wrote:

> With its present makeup, the choir is able to learn new works with almost the same rapidity as orchestral musicians, and can easily master the demands of its conductor. With this choir Arkhangel'sky… delights the audience with an unusual degree of polish and the independence of each singer's performance.[163]

The first of Arkhangelsky's marks on choral history were the series of historical sacred concerts performed by his ensemble for the public in St. Petersburg in the 1880s and early 1890s. The inaugural concert in 1883 was the first time sacred music was performed in an extra-liturgical setting. His goal was to expose the public to Western choral masterpieces such as Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, along with works by Russian composers not heard in modern church services. As a part of emphasizing Russia's musical history, they performed early Russian chants (dating back to the thirteenth century) and choral polyphony from the Baroque period (seventeenth century), which had been forgotten and omitted by the church. These concerts "served as the primary vehicle by which new sacred compositions were premiered and made popular,"[164] thus assisting in the flourishing of new choral compositions. From a 1901 concert, the ensemble performed the Requiem by Cherubini, and several choral pieces by Ippolitov-Ivanov, Rachmaninoff, Lisovsky, Panchenko, Grechaninov, Arkhangelsky and a work

[163] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 94, note 37. *Russkaia muzykal'naia gazeta* 3 (1903):70.
[164] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 88.

with text by Nekrasov, the famous poet whom the intelligentsia viewed as a heroic Russian author.

Morosan summarizes the importance of Arkhangelsky's chorus as a "major contribution to Russian choral culture was that he raised choral singing from its position as merely a servant of church ritual to the status of an independent musical art."[165] Arkhangelsky's choir toured around Russia and Poland, stopping in 28 cities in 1898 with a group of 30 singers; he did the same in 1899 to Baltic provinces and Helsinki, touring until 1901 in Russia. In 1907, the choir went to Germany, making it the first Russian choir to perform in the major cities of Dresden, Leipzig, and Berlin where they received enthusiastic response, seen in a concert review in the journal *Die Welt am Abend*:

> Human voices, the obstinate material, under Arkhangel'sky's direction acquire stability of intonation and a gradation of sound that not even a violinist or cellist can achieve. Considering all the variety and diversity of voices in Arkhangel'sky's choir, the unity with which volume is increased and decreased and the most subtle nuances are transmitted is amazingly precise and exhibits an all-conquering beauty… We were surprised and pleasantly excited by certain novel and interesting interpretations of the choral works of our countrymen, most notably, J. S. Bach…[166]

Arkhangelsky received high praise from critics for musical discipline, training, and performing techniques, often referred to as resembling an organ:

> Ivan Lipaev, a Moscow critic whose standards for choral singing were always extremely high, gave Arkhangel'sky's Choir a generally positive review in 1897: "Particularly endearing in Arkhangelsky's Choir are its diction, intonation [and] the blend of the massed sound, and not only in the passages of barely audible, whisperlike pianissimo, but also in the mighty, deafening forte. At times it seems that the choir resembles some kind of instrument, such as an organ…"[167]

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[165] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 95.
[166] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 96, note 43. Anonymous (Concert review), *Die Welt am Abend*, 18 December 1907.
[167] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 95, note 41. Quote from Ivan Lipaev, (Concert review). *Artist* 17 (1891): 130-131; cited in Tkachev, *A. A. Arkhangel'sky*, 27.

In 1888 an anonymous reviewer in *Nuvellist* wrote:

> The subtlety of nuances developed by Arkhangel'sky in his choir is remarkable. One gets the impression of a marvelous instrument, capable at times of superseding any orchestra by its performance – exactly the same impression produced by the marvelous choir of the Imperial Chapel.[168]

The Moscow critic Semën Kruglikov in 1891 again referred to the ensemble as an organ:

> In terms of its voices (men's and women's), the evenness of sonority, the absence of any rough edges whatsoever, ideal intonation, clarity in all types of difficult and fast-moving passages, the mellowness of full, sustained chords, Arkhangel'sky's Choir is one of the most disciplined we have ever heard. The entrances of all the voices are precise, displaying uncommon ensemble: the effect is that of a chord played by an organist when he suddenly presses several keys of a gigantic organ…[169]

In comparison to Argrenev-Slaviansky's concerts, the critic Mikhail Lisitsyn deemed Arkhangelsky as having overturned foreigner's perceptions of a Russian choir, for which he referenced a review from a Finnish newspaper:

> We have never yet heard a choir that displayed such amazing virtuosity as this, equally in the areas of ensemble, purity of sound, nuances, and the ability to execute the most varied dynamic shadings… We would like to call the singing of this choir ideal.[170]

In the same article, Lisitsyn himself praised Arkhangelsky's choir as showing "that choral singing in Russia can exist on a level no lower than in Europe."[171]

Arkhangelsky also boasts credit for helping raise the economic status of church choir singers. His establishment of the Church Singer's Benefit Association funded pensions with annual concerts given by combined choirs of St. Petersburg. Grandiose concerts with 500 to 600

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[168] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 95, note 39. *Nuvellist* 1 (1883): 3.
[169] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 95, note 40. *Artist* 17 (1891): 130-131.
[170] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 96, note 42. *Russkaia muzykalnaia gazeta* 1 (1898): 86-88.
[171] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 95, note 42. *Russkaia muzykalnaia gazeta* 1 (1898): 86-88.

singers may not have attained as high a degree of musical artistry, but were popular events that increased choral music's visibility.[172] It is no surprise that the combination of positive response for the quality of performances, but also their musical selections made Arkhangelsky's ensemble prosperous across Russia, and well-reviewed by contemporary critics. The repertoire performed by Arkhangelsky's chorus also appealed to the progressive camp, performing works by not only the Romantic era Russian composers, but that of the new Russian choral school. Arkhangelsky's choir was significant in a number of ways, but mostly for the entrepreneurial success that modelled new possiblities for choral singing in the 1880s. The professional manner of the enterprise, as independent from external funding demonstrated the shift of possibilities available to businesses of all types after the 1860s reforms.

Arkhangelsky's choir managed a successful balance of performing Western classical music, traditional Russian pieces, with newly-composed works, earning his choir the acceptance and praise of the harshest critics. Perhaps it was the perception of Arkhangelsky's motivations through advertising concerts as "presenting the new Russian style" and as "historical" that made his chorus tremendously successful; his international reputation aided in the acceptance of his ensemble and assisted with the growth of professionalism in the business of music.

Another Russian composer, conductor and entrepreneur, Count Alexander Dmitriyevich Sheremetev (1859-1931) founded his own private symphony orchestra in 1882. By 1898, Sheremetev organized public concerts in St. Petersburg for the orchestra and a choir he had inherited from his father, Dmitry Sheremetev. Thanks to his financial resources and personal musical skill, Sheremetev and his theater premiered the first production of Wagner's *Parsifal* in Russia in 1906. Their troupe championed many works by Wagner, usually held in the Winter

[172] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 96.

Palace or Sheremetev palace theaters, thus only viewed by the Imperial family, the diplomatic corps, and senior government officials. Sheremetev is also credited with founding the Musical Historical Society in 1910, which gave free lecture recitals involving his orchestra and choir. Prior to Alexander's developments, Sheremetev's choir had performed regularly, earning a reputation as one of the elite choirs in St. Petersburg in the early part of the century.

Under the direction of Lomakin, who sang and taught in the choir since the age of ten, Sheremetev's choir earned accolades from Western European musicians (including Berlioz and Liszt) thanks to great vocal proficiency. Even the Russian critic Vladimir Stasov valued the choir as superior to the Imperial Chapel Kapella. Describing the vocal skill achieved by the training at Sheremetev's palace academy, Stasov praised the choir from a concert in 1856:

> We will cite here two facts that best of all attest to the substance and stature of the school through which every member of the Sheremetev Choir must pass: we have on numerous occasions witnessed how this choir, a *prima vista*, has performed difficult and complex works of the ancient masters by sight, without any preparation. We have also witnessed how, after stopping, the conductor would tell some section, say, the tenors, from which place and measure to begin, and all the other voices would enter correctly in their places, without any special instructions. And if the first fact is indicative of an excellent school and proper method of teaching, the second conveys the attentiveness and perceptiveness to which the ear of every choir member's ear has been trained. Such a phenomenon among little children, the trebles and altos, is so rare, that it would be the envy of any German Choir…[173]

Unfortunately, because of the choir's limitation to private settings, performances remained inaccessible to the public. Thus, minimal influence on other musicians and conductors of this time could have occurred outside of elite circles. The ensemble performed Western European Renaissance and Baroque era works by Durante, Leo, Lotti, Arcadelt, Palestrina, Carissimi, Nanin, and J. S. Bach. Serov similarly praised Lomakin's direction of a public performance in 1862:

[173] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 129.

> In St. Petersburg there have been splendid vocal concerts organized by Gavriil Iakimovich Lomakin, the finest choral conductor in Russia, and given by a choir composed partly of members of Count Sheremetev's choir and partly of amateur singers of both sexes. And so, for the first in many, many years our audiences have heard a real performance of secular choral pieces given by a large number of singers who had learned their parts properly and who were directed by a proper conductor. The choir's sound rose from a scarcely audible pianissimo, barely above a whisper for the massed voices, to a deafeningly loud forte. Each sound was distinct and clear where the music demanded it. One could hear thousands of nuances that cannot be expressed in the usual sounds of music and cannot be put into words. One could sense the fusion of this mass of voices into one whole which obeyed the slightest movement of the conductor's hand; there was a complete fusion of the singers with the will of the conductor, a complete and conscious fusion of his will and the spirit of the piece of music. One detected, as one rarely does in St. Petersburg, a current of genuine musicality, of the genuine, warm, pure love of music and the results were glorious.[174]

Later concerts performed in the palace, Kononov auditorium, incorporated works of Russian composers. Such concerts included an overture from a Chaikovsky opera, excerpted scenes, the chorus of villagers, and the dance of the Polovtsian girls from *Prince Igor* (Borodin).[175] Others performed works by Rimsky-Korsakov, Darogmizhky, Glinka, and Sofronov,[176] Mendelssohn's oratorio *Christ* and cantatas *Landa Sion*,[177] and *Messa Requiem*, Op. 54 by Saint- Saëns.[178] An announcement from *Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings* described the program on 26 November 1903: "At the New Theater. Public symphonic concert. Saint-Saëns' *Messa-Requiem* op. 54 performed by the choir and orchestra of Sheremetev."[179] The collection of pieces performed by Sheremetev's chorus depicts a more varied selection, particularly in subject than seen by the other elite ensembles at this time, including more opera

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[174] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 82-83.
[175] *Muzykalno-teatralnyĭ sovremennik (Contemporary Musical Theater)*, (St. Petersburg, RU: E. N. Borman, 1900), December 1900, No. 3, 11. Translated by author. See Appendix A: B-1 for original Russian.
[176] *Muzykalno-teatralnyĭ sovremennik (Contemporary Musical Theater)*, November 1901, No. 44, 11. Translated by author. See Appendix A: B-4 for original Russian.
[177] *Muzykalno-teatralnyĭ sovremennik (Contemporary Musical Theater)*, November 1901, No. 47, 5. Translated by author. See Appendix A: B-5 for original Russian.
[178] *Izvestiia S.Peterburgskago obchestva muzykalnix sobraniĭ (Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings)*, (St. Petersburg, RU: E. Arngolda, 1903), May-June-July 1903, 29. Translated by author.
[179] *Izvestiia S.Peterburgskago obchestva muzykalnix sobraniĭ (Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings)*, April-May-June 1903, 29. Translated by author.

scenes and secular choruses. However, large-scale sacred works appear as well, mostly that of non-Russian composers. Performing pieces of this magnitude, often requiring orchestra, exemplify the typical showing of an exceptional ensemble at this time. Smaller, less skilled choirs could not manage to produce the large oratorios and cantatas such as that of Mendelssohn and Haydn.

The director and property owner, D. F. Yakovlev, organized his own choir consisting of 70 people, in August 1905. The distribution of voices in the choir included: 25 descants, 15 altos, 14 tenors, 14 basses, and 3 precentors. Funds for the maintenance of the choir was received in the form of salaries from the churches in which they sing, namely from Church of the Savior on Sennaia, the Church of the Annunciation, the almshouse named after Imperial Alexandra Fëdorovna, and the Church of the Mining Institute on Vasilevsky ostrov (island).[180]

Narodnye khory- Folk Choirs

Over the course of history, the term folk choir has referred to a variety of ensembles. One prescribed use referred to church choirs performing sacred music in small cities and rural settings. Its members were made up of locals, thus primarily serfs on individual properties, also referred to as serf choirs and serf orchestras. While these did also exist in Russia at this time, the groups labeled here as folk choirs are amateur groups performing outside the jurisdiction of Orthodox parishes, emphasizing Russian and other Slavic folk songs along with Russian sacred music. These choirs included commoners from the worker and peasant class, often functioning in

[180] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 98. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-12 for original Russian.

conjunction with local elementary and secondary schools for performing venues and partnership with young singers. A few professional choirs emerged and adapted similar musical traditions of the folk choirs.

The Slavianskaia Kapella (Slavic Kapella), under the direction of D. A. Agrenev-Slaviansky (1834-1908), flourished on the stage from the 1870s to 1890s. Beginning in 1868 with approximately 25 men and women, it grew to about 60 total men, women, and boys in the 1880s. With visits to four continents, the Slavic Kapella gave nearly 15,000 concerts featuring Russian and Slavic folk songs. Prior to this ensemble, the only Russian choral ensemble to tour outside of Russia was Prince Yuri Golitsyn's serf choir in the 1850s and 1860s, travelling to England and America.[181] Performances took place at factories, schools, hospitals, and provincial clubs, many for lower-class audiences.[182] The Slavic Kapella presented works with a mixture of musical styles: military, peasant, and gypsy songs such as *byliny* (epic songs), laments, *chastushki* (limericks), joking songs, barge-hauler songs, wedding songs, and some with dancing incorporated into a single performance. Their repertoire included Czech, Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian, and other Slavic songs, in attempt to promote the goals of the Slavic Congress (part of the Slavic movement for self-rule of all Slavic countries). Though none of the musical reviews mention it as part of the conflict, it is impossible that they would not have known or cared about this political association, perhaps a factor in the punitive criticism they received. However, it is significant to note the songs from a variety of regions included in the repertoire of the Slavic Kapella as representative of their cultural pride. These inclusions speak to the multiplicity of

[181] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 122-23.
[182] Laura J. Olson, *Performing Russia: Folk Revival and Russian Identity* (New York, NY: Routledge Curzon 2004), 28-29.

ethnicities allowed and welcomed into the identity of Russianness as a multi-ethnic state, rather than an ethnically "pure" nation.

An example of the Slavic Kapella's programs comes from the program for the 1889 World Fair in Paris, France. The ensemble was billed as the *Chapelle nationale Russe* (Russian National Kapella) on 15 Sepetember 1889, with titles printed in French for this affair:

> *Poème épique, chantant le célébre héros du onzième siècle, Dobrynia Nikitieb* (*Epic Poem, Singing the Famous Hero of the Eleventh Century, Dobrynia Nikitich*)
>
> *Cherchez mon Anneau que je cache,* chant de bonne aventure (*Search for my Ring that I Hide*, Song of fortune)
>
> *A toi mon coeur, jeune homme aux yeux noirs!* chant dialogue (*To You My Heart, Young Man with Black Eyes!* singing dialogue)
>
> *Le Sommeil m'accable*, chanson des moeurs (*Sleep Overwhelmes Me*, song of morals)
>
> *Le Petit Obier et le petit framboisier* ("Kalinka, Malinka, Moia") (*The Little Rose and the Small Raspberry*)
>
> *Glore a l'astre du jour, Glorie!* hymne ancien (*Glory to the Day Star, Glorie!* ancient hymn)
>
> *En Descendant le Wolga, célèbre*, chanson ancienne ("Vnis po matuchke po Wolgue") (*Descending into the Volga*, famous ancient song)
>
> *Ivoutchka*, chanson lyrique (*Ivuchka*, lyric song)
>
> *Oh! Pourquoi me marie-t-on si tôt*, chanson petit russienne (*Oh! Why Must I Get Married so Early*, little Russian song)
>
> *L'Obier de la montagne*, ballade sibérienne (*The Sapwood of the Mountain*, Siberian ballad)
>
> *Il Passe un Jeune Homme le long du village*, chanson à danser (*A Young Man Passes Along the Village*, dance song)[183]

This program is a roughly accurate representation of the usual program of the Slavic Kapella which contained folk songs from a variety of regions, and different lyrical styles, a dance song,

[183] Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester, MN: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 328. Translations inserted by author.

and a well-recognized traditional song that audience members might hear and sing along with during performance.

Additional to this entertaining variety of styles, the Slavic Kapella combined stage décor and costumes to elaborate on the texts of the songs and protagonists of their stories. The Slavic Kapella became popular in England, Germany, France, and America as well as in Russia, however, not without disparagement. The ambience often evoked in concerts that of the seventeenth-century Boyar Rus (pre-Petrine era, before 1682), perpetuating the popular understanding of *narodnost*, or Russian national character as perceived by some. Slaviansky invited specialists to assist in staging the group's concerts, such as historian I. E. Zabelin, folklorist E. F. Barsov, and artist M. O. Mikeshin.[184] Slaviansky's stylized costumes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with stages designed to look like a boyar palace, combined with extra effects rather than musical sensitivity was perceived as concocted for showmanship, thus supplanting any real musicianship. For instance, the choristers wore rags imitating those from I. E. Repin's painting "Burlaki na Volge" ("The Volga Boatmen"), for the singing of the popular Russian folk song "Eĭ ukhnem" ("Song of the Volga Boatmen"). Many critics and Russian musicians disapproved of Slaviansky's staging methods:

> Hermann Laroche, for instance, underlining the 'cheap popularity of the melodies' performed by Agrenev-Slavianskii and their pseudo-folk character, remarked that these characteristics mesmerized the 'semi-educated mob.'[185]

The conflict here arose centered around the cultural representation of the *narod*, the center of the debate of nationalism and how Russian people define self. This particular group caused an uprising of anger by Russians because of its popularity on the international stage.

[184] Adalyat Issiyeva, "Russian Orientalism: From Ethnography to Art Song in Nineteenth-Century Music" (Ph.D. Diss., McGill University, 2013), 377-78.
[185] Issiyeva, "Russian Orientalism: From Ethnography to Art Song in Nineteenth-Century Music," 378.

Progressive artists felt projecting the image of the Rus' inaccurately represented what they aimed to portray in their own music, a cosmopolitan and culturally established nation independent from the West. Chaikovsky expressed his repulsion with Slaviansky, describing his as the "cunning and enterprising tenor" in multiple articles from 1871, 1873 and 1875. Chaikovsky reveals his perspective on Russian folk music and its value to the definition of Russian nationalism in which he took pride, as he described Slaviansky's interpretation of the folk songs for the chorus's performances:

> In an openly sarcastic tone, Tchaikovsky described how Agrenev-Slavianskiĭ became popular using the 'deplorable ignorance of the masses' and false patriotism. Slavianskiĭ, according to Tchaikovsky, distorts folk music, 'with a sacrilegious hand offends the shrine of our folk art... pursues his non-artistic objects, having nothing to do with art'… Tchaikovsky further complained that even if he could 'open the eyes of the public' in order to reeducate and foster the public's musical development, he would not have had anywhere to send them to listen to true music.[186]

Another expression of Chaikovsky's anger towards the representation of Russians comes from his publication *Muzykalnye feletony i zamietki* (*Musical Notes and Satires*):

> If Slavianskii is acknowledged to be some kind of hero, holding high the banner of Russian music, then I maintain that such assertions can be made only by individuals who know neither music in general nor the Russian [folk] song in particular… This exploitation of [low-brow] patriotism from beyond the Moskva River has nothing in common with music whatsoever![187]

Morosan quotes others who shared a similar response to the ensemble during a tour in German in 1865: "Russians living in Berlin implored him not to include any folk songs on a concert program, saying, 'Have you no shame? You will embarrass all of us and yourself.'"[188]

Slaviansky received some praise, however, from a non-Russian critic, demonstrating the image

[186] Issiyeva, "Russian Orientalism: From Ethnography to Art Song in Nineteenth-Century Music," 378.
[187] Issiyeva, "Russian Orientalism: From Ethnography to Art Song in Nineteenth-Century Music." Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky and G. A. Larosh, *Muzykal'nye fel'etony i zamietki Petra Il'icha Chaikovskago, 1868-1876 g (Musical Notes and Satires of Pyotr Illich Chaikovsky, 1868-1876)* (Moscow, RU: Pechatnia S.P. Iakovlena, 1898), 306.
[188] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 122.

perpetuated by the choir's depiction of Russian national songs. Heyer, a German critic praised Slaviansky, "noting that 'he sang in a unique, inimitable, and purely national manner, and expressed that sadness and boldness found [alternately] in Russian songs.'"[189] However, due to the popularity and success of the ensemble, it is fair to assume that many middle and lower-class civilians related to this representation of Russian identity. Other enthusiastic reactions of Westerners reflect the emotional reception of the Russian chorus:

> "The melodies of the Slavs, so varied in nature–at times profoundly sad, at times light and graceful–but always filled with real and genuine emotion, elevate the soul and gladden the heart," from the *Leipziger Nachrighten*.
>
> "Agrenev-Slavinasky with his wonderful tenor elicited a torrent of applause by his performance of the Russian boatmen's song ["Ei, ukhnem"]…. Despite the fact that everything was performed in a foreign language, the effect upon the public was obvious from the innumerable compliments," from the *New York Herald*.
>
> In France *Le Figaro* printed the words and music to "Ei, ukhnem" after Agrenev's performance, which prompted Charles Gounod to hyperbolize, "If I were forced to listen to the boatment's song, "Ei, ukhnem" every day for as long as it would take me to drink the entire Volga, even then I would not get tired of this wonderful melody… If I were younger and should contemplate writing another opera, I would fill it entirely with authentic Russian tunes."[190]

Slaviansky earned limited praise from Russian musicians for his attempts to write down genuine folk songs. However, trained professionals judged his arrangements as distorted and inaccurate, combined with sentimental songs of no real relation to traditional folk songs that some felt incorrectly represented the character of the Russian *narod*. Sergei Taneev, a famous teacher of composition, voiced this opinion: "The arrangements of these songs not only are inappropriate to their character, but are made with an extremely unskilled hand, which reveals in their author insufficient familiarity with the most basic elements of music."[191] Regardless, Slaviansky's chorus was revolutionary for a number of reasons. It gained financial independence

[189] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 122.
[190] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 122.
[191] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 123.

from government support or censorship, demonstrating the growing ability for private musical entities to survive as autonomous businesses. Successful both inside and outside of Russia, one viewpoint judges the chorus as exploiting elements of orientalism and exoticism as a propaganda tool for fiscal gain. It should be noted this was a popular compositional trend in Western Europe at this time as well, perhaps contributing to the disdain of the progressive nationalists, though they used the same technique with a varied musical manifestation.

While viewed as detrimental by progressives attempting to redefine Russian nationalism, particularly as expressed in music, it cannot be ignored that the Slavic Kapella received positive reception at home as well as in European nations. Members of this chorus who performed thousands of concerts connected to the shared identity they reflected and expressed every performance. So must have many Russians who witnessed these performances, evidenced by the choir's success within the nation.

The nuance of the criticism here reveals not only hypocrisy as well as personal disdain towards Slaviansky. Musically, the concerns address the issue of the authenticity of the folk tunes, claiming that Slaviansky had no knowledge of true Russian folk tunes as heard in his arrangements. In comparison to the works composed by the new Russian school, which incorporated stylized versions of folk songs, what sin did Slaviansky commit to deserve greater criticism? The publication functioning as the gold standard of folk arrangements, transcribed and harmonized by Balakirev, has been identified as borrowing heavily from the classical Western polyphonic style. These arrangements also divert from the rhythmic patterns of notated folk songs. The second attack on the "trite" and sentimental songs that Slaviansky incorporated into his concerts, on the basis of musicality conflicts with the programming in concerts of the Russian Musical Society and Free Music School, who performed many Russian *romances*, mostly of

sentimental and romantic nature. Not contributing to the improvement of "authentic Russianness," these societies also performed songs, cantatas, oratorios, and choruses by Western composers. Musically, these concerts could similarly be accused of being non-patriotic or degrading to the Russian music in which it was paired. Seeing as these musical criticisms discredit themselves in comparison to the praised choral ensembles and composers, one element remains to suffer criticism. The intelligentsia and musicians of this movement disliked the presentation of the visuals that in their mind reverted back to a time of a less-developed culture, a more primitive people, that of the Boyars, Rus', and serfdom. It is rational to assume that an element of class prejudice factored into the dislike of Slaviansky's representation of Russian as peasantry. Their ideologies aimed to incorporate idioms of Russia's musical past in what they were creating as a modern, cosmopolitan, educated society. Daniil Lokshin best summarizes this chapter in Russian choral history: "No other musical ensemble or solo performer simultaneously elicited so many inordinately enthusiastic and highly negative opinions."[192]

The occurrence of folk choirs is mentioned as forming at parish churches out of regularly attending locals, singing entirely on a volunteer basis. However, few details exist regarding details of these ensembles. One specific example of a folk choir as formed out of a church parish came from *Choral and Precentor Affairs* in 1910:

> The Folk Choir of the Church of St. Samson the Hospitable (ex. Antoniev) has been singing since 1907 under the direction of AI Ilshtrem. Of course, the amount of members, it as an amateur choir, is not limited, but varies between approximately 30-40 people. The repertoire includes works of Arkhangelsky, Bortniansky, Vinogradov, Lvov, Smolensky, Turchaninov, Fateev, Chaikovsky, and others.[193]

[192] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 122.
[193] *Khorovoe i regentskoe delo (Choral and Precentor Affairs)*, March 1910, 72. Translated by author. See Appendix A: A-10 for original Russian.

This short clip gives us a snippet into what may have been the trend of these amateur choirs, with variable size dependent on irregular attendance, performing only works sanctioned by the church from which they originated. As trained directors indefinitely came from the parish, it is safe to assume the repertoire they most comfortably taught fit into the repertoire of the Russian sacred tradition. Though not necessarily mandated, using the parish hall as rehearsal and performance space, it would have only been sensible to adhere to the repertoire appropriate to the setting.

The folk choirs and the network of popularity they enjoyed most clearly exemplify the plurality of regional and cultural mixture accepted by Russians as a part of their own national identity. While touring the nation, these groups encouraged the cultural acceptance and inclusion of the many Slavic nations a part of the Russian Empire, contributing to the pluralities present in the designation of Russian nationalism.

Gypsy Choirs

A historically nomadic people from the northern regions of India, the Romani people dispersed throughout Europe as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Members of this ethnic group were often referred to as Gypsies, as a derogatory term for the travelling entertainers and tradesmen. Because of the expansiveness of their settlings, there is no unified version of Romani musical style. Instead, there developed regional and national Gypsy styles, such as Turkish, Hungarian, Spanish, Bulgarian, and Russian. In some eras and regions, Gypsies were accepted as authentic performers, who portrayed their nation's peasant culture. More often, they were ostracized, racially discriminated against, and their music treated as degenerate. Within this

context, the Gypsy performers found success across multiple regions due to their improvisational abilities to appropriate a style of music into an exoticized version that locals enjoyed.

Because of the nature of the roaming gypsy performers and choirs, there is little formal record about these groups, but anecdotal stories serve as histories. Documentation survives about individuals who made their fame as gypsy singers, mostly performing Russian folk songs with added romantic flair and charisma. Even with minimal specifics in data, inclusion of these choirs contributes to the colorful activities attended in St. Petersburg. The popularity of gypsy choruses and performers peaked in Russia during the first half of the nineteenth century. Choruses formed from serfs under the organization of a landowner, for whom they could earn money on tour. In the 1830s, "They were in demand with aristocrats and merchants alike in both Moscow and St. Petersburg, even though they were not permitted to set their tents up within city limits."[194] At mid-century, gypsy choruses emerged as prominent groups in Moscow and St. Petersburg. One of the gypsy choirs with documentation came from the Count Aleksei Orlov's estate, a nobleman close to Catherine the Great, in the late-eighteenth century. N. E. Shiskin and Peter Sokolov each led a successful gypsy chorus in St. Petersburg. At this time, hosting gypsy choirs became fashionable among Russian nobility: "No significant social occasion was complete without a Roma chorus."[195]

The tradition spread into three gypsy musical styles: original Roma folk music, choral "road house" music, and the Russian gypsy *romance*.[196] Roma folk songs, simple like story-

[194] Wim Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution* (London, UK; Portland, OR: F. Cass, 1997), 153.
[195] David Crowe and Collection Mazal Holocaust, *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1994), xiii. The Roma or Romani people are a nomadic ethnic group, dispersed into concentrated populations in Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe, as well as the Americas, originating from northern India.
[196] Crowe and Mazal Holocaust, *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*, xiii.

telling, could be performed by a choir or a soloist. The seven-stringed Russian guitar typically accompanied choruses. The "road house" music exclusively featured choral pieces and tended to be more elaborate harmonically. The Gypsy *romance* had no direct relation to the Roma music, but rather was composed by Russians with hints of Gypsy influence. While performed by the Gypsy musicians, they were not considered authentic. This particular style was the most popular with the educated classes in Russia.[197]

Gypsy choirs were primarily made up of women, and men held responsibilities of planning for travels and finances, such as horse dealing. Women dominated the stage in Gypsy performance. Men, if any partaking in performance, played instruments to accompany the songs and dances of the ladies. Usually seen in bars, cabarets, and outdoor courtyards, sometimes beckoned to the private salons of nobles, the Gypsy choruses sang and danced sometimes throughout a whole night, into the morning hours, most often in the company of drunken audiences.[198] While ethnic Russians enjoyed the Gypsy style of performance, social boundaries still existed; for instance, marriage between a Gypsy and a Russian was not usually sanctioned by the church. In Erik Scott's examination of the performance of otherness, he described the social stigma against Gypsies: "Even in the event of 'legalization' people remained scandalized by them."[199] Integration of Gypsy culture into St. Petersburg deemed additionally difficult, due to Empress Elizabeth's 1759 degree banning all Gypsies from entry into the city. This remained in the form of heavy restriction through the end of the Imperial period.[200] Gypsy choirs, however, received exemption from settlement laws, compared to solo performers, or Gypsy families attempting to remain in St. Petersburg: "Gypsies (choirs) were allowed access to the empire's

[197] Crowe and Mazal Holocaust, *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*, 164-65.
[198] Edvard Radzinskii, *The Rasputin File* (New York, NY: Nan A. Talese, 2000), 383-85, 404.
[199] Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution*, 153.
[200] Erik R. Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," in *BPS Working Papers Series* (Berkeley Program in Eurasian and East European Studies, Summer 2008), 7.

center as specialists in ethnically distinct forms of urban entertainment."[201] Many of the Gypsy choral groups formed with mostly relatives, and even with non-family members, "choir members typically lived clustered together."[202] These Gypsy homes in St. Petersburg were found clustered together along the shore of Chërnaia rechka (Chërnaia river), on the outskirts of the city, contributing to their shared identity and status as outsiders.[203]

The Gypsies were celebrated as the exotic Other, idealized as a people who "loved freedom and opposed every form of tyranny." [204] The Russian author Ivan Turgenev in 1852 described the romanticized gypsy singer with the emphasis on "peasant 'humanity… imaginativeness… poetical and artistic giftedness, their sense of dignity,' and their intelligence" as echoed in contemporary literature.[205] The French music critic Camille Bellaigue (1858-1930) after his trip to Moscow commented on his observance of the Romani choirs and their musical practices, emphasizing the melancholia and sentimentalism of their performances. The mysterious characteristics of these singers and their possession of the music as ingrained spurred his curiosity: "Gypsies, Russians keep the secret of their songs. Science also has not penetrated the divine mystery of this ignorance."[206] Fascination with the Gypsies was enhanced by stereotypes perpetuated most prevalently in literature. Lynn Hooker describes this phenomenon of Gypsies in contemporary writing: "Mysterious, cursed by ancient sins, Europe's most colorful

[201] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 8.
[202] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 22.
[203] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 23.
[204] Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution*, 154.
[205] Crowe and Mazal Holocaust, *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*, 169.
[206] Anna G. Piotrowska and Guy Russell Torr, *Gypsy Music in European Culture: From the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2013), 204.

racial Other had the allure of the forbidden. In a region where law and identity tied most members of the majority to the land, the gypsy supposedly wandered according to whim."[207]

The craze in popularity of Gypsy performance in nineteenth-century Russia demonstrates an interesting phenomenon of performance as an agent of identity expression and reflection. The interest in Gypsy culture shows the extension of Russian identity beyond European mores as expanding across the vast lands of the Russian Empire, both literally and figuratively. By welcoming the Gypsies into intimate places for performances, Russians entered a safe space to explore the elements of what they perceived as "other," Eastern, or other foreign characteristics as a part of their own identity. The Gypsies, in these settings, did not generally represent their own culture authentically; rather they designed a characterized version, of more Orientalist allure, that generated the most effective responses. In his paper on Gypsy choirs, Scott described the effect of this strategy in the abstract:

> Although it drew on themes deeply embedded in Russian–and European–culture, the Orientalist allure of Gypsy performance was in no small part self-created and self-perpetuated, an "auto-Orientalism" which brought many Gypsy performers great success in the nineteenth century. For it was only by performing their otherness that Gypsies were able to seize upon their specialized role as entertainers, one which gave them temporary control over their audiences even as the songs, dances, costumes, and gestures of their performance–all part of the idiom of the Russian Gypsy choir–were shaped perhaps more by audience expectations than by Gypsy musical traditions.[208]

Performances could be heard in variety theaters on side streets and at the outskirts of town. The restaurant and tavern setting, as well as private *kabinets,* aided in the exotic and extravagant atmosphere, usually accompanied by food and plentiful alcohol. Gypsy performances tended to involve heavy drinking, contributing to the sometimes-scandalous scenes. These tableaus, such

[207] Lynn M. Hooker, *Redefining Hungarian Music from Liszt to Bartók* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 36.
[208] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 3.

as a nearly nude, young "mermaid" woman bathing in a tub of champagne for the guests to indulge in, or the "mermaid's funeral," acted-out with a coffin for the "dead" girl, were paired with the singing of appropriate tunes, like drinking songs and funeral dirges. The general justification for drunkenness was the need to reach the elevated spirit of the Gypsies, so they could live freely in the moment.[209] Most importantly of the Gypsy performance, "their songs achieved the goal of transporting listeners to a different place."[210] The issue of otherness is blatant in the ethnic ridicule of gypsies, alongside the romanticized exoticism desired by Russians for entertainment purposes.

The evidence about Gypsy music comes from ensembles owned by wealthy individuals. Their repertoire consisted solely of Russian *romances* and folk songs. Performance practices of the gypsies utilized tempo and dynamic changes, sometimes abrupt and other times subtle, to stir up emotional responses in their audiences. The music was defined by its ability to incite emotional turmoil: "it could open a window to the past and evoke feelings of both nostalgia and longing (*toska*)."[211] Some of the songs enduring as transcribed for today's audiences include the traditional Russian folk songs "Coachman," and "Nightingale," and the old Russian *romance* "I Met You." Also in this collection are the most popular Russian gypsy songs titled "Dark Eyes," "Turquoise Rings," and "Two Guitars."[212] While songs like this were labelled and advertised as "ancient Gypsy romances," they usually came out of the late nineteenth-century repertoire. Lyrics drew on themes of nostalgia, love–both unrequited and fulfilled, death, and other subjects of longing. "Gypsy songs" (*tsiganshchina*) featured sensual, melancholic, imaginary elements of life, in order to draw emotional responses from their listeners.

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[209] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 20.
[210] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 21.
[211] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 27.
[212] Alexander Glüklikh, *Gypsy Guitar* (Miami, FL: Warner Bros. Publications, 2003), 6, 12, 21, 24, 26, 30.

One of the most famous cabaret songs, regularly performed by gypsy singers is "Ochi chërnia" ("Dark eyes"). This song incorporates elements of all the themes of love, longing, death, and nostalgia, combined with references to nature, also common in folk and gypsy songs.

> Oh, your dark black eyes, eyes so passionate,
> Eyes that burn through me, eyes so beautiful.
> How I love you so, and I fear you so
> When I saw you first, was my fatal hour!
>
> Oh, you're darker than the sea's darkest depths!
> Within them I see my dear soul's demise.
> In them I can see the flame of defeat,
> It's been burned into my poor suffering heart.
>
> But I am not sad, and I feel no grief,
> I draw comfort from my own destiny:
> Everything fine in life that God gave to us,
> I have sacrificed to your fiery eyes.[213]

Another popular cabaret song, "Tëmnaia noch" ("Dark night") exemplifies the subjects of longing and troubles:

> Dark night, only bullets are whistling in the steppe,
> Only the wind is wailing through the telephone wires, stars are faintly flickering...
> In the dark night, my love, I know you are not sleeping,
> And, near a child's crib, you secretly wipe away a tear.
>
> How I love the depths of your gentle eyes,
> How I long to press my lips to them!
> This dark night separates us, my love,
> And the dark, troubled steppe has come to lie between us.
>
> I have faith in you, in you, my sweetheart.
> That faith has shielded me from bullets in this dark night...
> I am glad, I am calm in deadly battle:
> I know you will meet me with love, no matter what happens.

[213] James Von Geldern and Louise Mc Reynolds, eds., *Entertaining Tsarist Russia* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 109. See Appendix C for original Russian text.

Death is not terrible, we've met with it more than once in the steppe...
And here it looms over me once again,
You await my return, sitting sleepless near a cradle,
And so I know that nothing will happen to me![214]

Other songs of this type include "Mne vspomnilos vremia minuvshee" ("The Fleeting Past Comes Back to Me"), "Vsia zhizn moia byla v tebe" ("All My Life was Given to You"), and "Zabud ves mir" ("Forget the Entire World"). Of a more seductive tone, songs like "Ia tskganka, doch stepei" ("I am a Gypsy Girl, Daughter of the Steppe") played on the erotic appeal of the Gypsy culture particularly to Russian men.

Gypsy women from within these choruses sometimes gained enough individual recognition to branch out as solo performers such as Katia Khlebinkova, Olga Shishkina, Domasha Danchenko, Liza Morozova, and Varvara Panina. Some of these women, though not all, married into Russian high-society.[215] Anastasia Dmitrievna Vialtseva (1871-1913) made a successful career as a professional performer of Gypsy songs and operetta in Russia. Her vocal training and work began under the coaching of S. M. Sonki, director of the St. Petersburg Choral Society.

Reported as having been performed by Vialtseva, the well-known song "Troikas" conveys the spirit of expansion and nature worship of the Russian native lands, with the famous three-horse sleigh and bells sounding in the countryside.

The troika hurries, the troika gallops,
Clouds of dust come from their hooves.
The sleighbells' jingling is plaintive,
The sleighbells ring out in this way: Akh!

[214] "Tyomnaya noch' (Dark Night)," Russian Music on the Net, http://russmus.net/song/5196#2, accessed 25 November 2016. Translation by University of Pittsburgh Department of Slavic Languages. See Appendix C for original Russian text.
[215] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 36-37.

He's driving, driving, driving to see her,
Driving to see his sweetheart.

Who's that wayfarer, and when
Has he journeyed from afar?
It is by his will he comes
Rushing through the nighttime dark? Akh!

He's driving, driving, driving to see her,
Driving to see his sweetheart.[216]

Another example of the popularity of these solo singers in the gypsy style is described in the biography of Lina Cavalieri, the famous Italian operatic soprano and actress, in her solo appearances singing alongside a Gypsy chorus. From a concert on 13 August 1898, "Cavalieri scored the greatest success of the evening, performing gypsy songs and dances."[217] In the same month, on 25 August 1898, an article in *Petersburg Leaflet* described her gown that cost more than 40,000 rubles, and the scene of her entrance:

> Before her entrée on the stage, more than 10 colossal flower baskets were brought there. The Gypsy chorus conducted by Nikolaj Shishkov was placed around the stage. The theatre shook with applause when the benefit artiste appeared on stage. Her gown of light-lilac-coloured gauze was literally covered with gems… Having sat in the middle of the Gypsy chorus Mlle Cavaliere sang perfectly well some Gypsy romances. The rapturous delight of the public exceeded all bounds. Every couplet was accompanied by loud and incessant applause.[218]

The Russian paper's report of the concert shows the high praise received from the most elite members of the St. Petersburg society. There are some very interesting layers of cultural appropriation seen as the Russian upper-crust doted on the Italian opera singer who performed a Russian *romance*, surrounded by characters dressed as a Gypsy chorus, no doubt comprised of Russian singers. The Italian singer takes on the role of a reappropriated "Other" to the Russians

[216]Von Geldern and Mc Reynolds, *Entertaining Tsarist Russia*, 176. Translation by author.
[217] Paul Fryer and Olga Usova, *Lina Cavalieri: The Life of Opera's Greatest Beauty, 1874-1944* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004), 23.
[218] Fryer and Usova, *Lina Cavalieri: The Life of Opera's Greatest Beauty, 1874-1944*, 24.

as she performs the traditional Russian music. She is collectively praised in this role by high society that enjoyed the entertainment of Gypsy music in private, but would not have condoned large public performances by authentic Roma Gypsies. Perhaps the perception of a world-class opera singer in this scene elevated the status of these songs, or to some it seemed foreign enough since she was Italian–still a form of "Other," and thus not inappropriate.

A dichotomy of identity expression lands in the performance space of the Gypsy with the response evoked by Russian natives. Many members of Gypsy choirs made a plentiful living from their musical profession, earning enough to build their own homes, send their children to prestigious schools in the large cities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, as well as afford luxuries like fashionable clothing.[219] Scott defended the professionalism displayed by the Gypsy choirs: "Despite the studied 'carelessness' of Gypsy performers, they should also be understood as entrepreneurs in a lucrative business who were phenomenally successful in their own way."[220]

Dealing with the question of identity as separate from their acquired performance personas, Scott reflected on the difficulty of this socio-cultural phenomenon:

> Even though the Gypsies' success as performers depended on their distinctiveness as an outsider group, their identity is ultimately difficult to define outside the context of their Russian host society. The age of nationalism heightened many of the tensions inherent in the choral Gypsies' peculiar position as a minority group of entertainers who specialized in reflecting the expectations of the audience. A truly separate ethnic identity – which had to be seen as one not performed for others – would have been difficult to establish among a group of which trafficked in popular representations of themselves.[221]

The irony of the gypsy as performers appropriated as exotic foreigners in Russia is summarized in *Entertaining Tsarist Russia*:

[219] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 28.
[220] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 42-43.
[221] Scott, "The Nineteenth-Century Russian Gypsy Choir and the Performance of Otherness," 43.

> A most influential ethnic Other figuring into the changing self-definition of Russians was the gypsy, who was shunned in reality but was glorified in the imagination as a symbol of romantic freedom. The Torris romance songs identified as "gypsy" in spirit, if not in factual origin, reflected how popular culture not only produced and perpetuated ethnic stereotypes, but also manipulated them in ways that helped to shape Russian identity.[222]

The Gypsy tradition in Russia assisted in the formation of a national musical style by providing a foreign style to serve as "other" for comparison. Among their performances, Russians explored the availability of non-Western characteristics to incorporate into their own construction of identity.

Conclusion

Massive growth of active choral ensembles active in St. Petersburg took place in the nineteenth century to include elite groups under State sponsorship, in the Orthodox church, and in the major theaters, as well as an extensive web of choral groups available to the most participants as ever seen in Russia's history. The freedom allocated to the financially independent music societies and professional institutions ushered in a flourishing of choral activities, many of which extended to members of society outside of the nobility and social elite.

The government continued to use the Orthodox system to perpetuate its version of Russian national music with the control and oversight of choral music performed in all Orthodox parishes in the country. However, the birth of musical education institutions encouraged Russian composers to expand their horizons beyond what the State had previously permitted. With increasing opportunities for education and volunteer associations, Russians gained the prospects of not only hearing choral music, but participating as singers whether or not they were professionals. The collective activities of the musical societies and free music classes became

[222] Von Geldern and Mc Reynolds, *Entertaining Tsarist Russia*, xxi-xxii.

pockets of personal interaction leading to social-bonding and identity development. With the numerical growth of performing choral ensembles, composition of choral works reciprocally blossomed to accommodate new demands.

Among the different categories of choral ensembles, trends in performance repertoire reveals the collective identity of each ensemble and their own representation of Russianness. As seen between these different types of choirs, this representation of Russianness manifested in drastically opposing fashion, particularly the division between the State-sponsored ensembles and those independent from governmental influence. The State-sponsored groups retained the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Russian composers as the representatives of their musically characterized version of Russianness. The choral ensembles not attached to an Orthodox sponsorship rarely, if ever, performed music from that era, nonetheless they sang many sacred works. Rather, they adhered to the works of new Russian composers and the arrangements of folk songs as their reappropriated version of modern Russians, who appreciated their historical roots, and idealized the peasant life.

All ensembles formed some kind of shared identities, each with an emphasis on performing works by Russian composers rather than foreign musicians. While they shared this core trait, division occurred with the choices of various eras of composers, subject matter and texts, and handling (or exclusion) of folk songs.

Chapter 3: Contemporary Journalism and Criticism

A number of factors affected musical spheres and their growth during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries: technological advancements, issues of censorship, economic freedoms, and progress in literary and philosophical studies. Print media served as the primary source of disseminating information, ideas, and opinions. By examining the societal influences such as notions of gender, class, educational standards, religious practies, and racial bias that contributed to the dialogues on musical education, composition, and nationalism, one can better grasp the many facets of Russian musical life, reaching a larger audience, and educated base than ever before in its history.

Through this era of artistic growth in the fields of music and literature, the impact of technological advances played a substantial role. The early-nineteenth century saw considerable development in publishing technology, increasing the capabilities of distribution and availability of print materials to Russian citizens. Until the first flat-bed printing press in 1816 was imported to Russia by the Russian Bible Society, printers had labored over a hand-operated single press, only capable of one sheet of paper at a time (the Stanhope press, patented in 1804). Though still man-powered, printing sped up thanks to the rotating drum with multiple sheets of paper able to print at one time. By the 1860s, printing businesses attained the steam-powered press, which could produce 1,000 impressions per hour. These developments cut expenses and increased productivity, leading to the 1880s, with presses that could produce 10,000 copies of a newspaper per hour. In the 1890s, the rate of production increased to 30,000 per hour, including the use of color, photographs, and illustrations with chromolithography. Larger batches of prints combined

with advertisers paying for page space resulted in lower subscription costs to customers.[1] Large publishing houses began to dominate the industry, most likely due to the significant overhead expenses of the printing machinery, and the capital required for necessary purchases prior to sales. Along with this growth, publishing companies opened that were dedicated solely to printing musical scores.

Profitability grew with the demands from industries such as manufacturing plants, mercantile businesses, and railroads, which were interested in the new forms of advertisements available through this print medium. Educational materials increased in quantity with the expansion of public school systems, also seen happening in Europe and America, under the establishment of the *zemstvo*. Speculation of scholars regarding the appearance of literary advancement in Russia are unclear on the marketplace as dictated by the expansion of the book market, or the other direction, the publishing advancements as caused by the number of new writers. What can be observed is the sense of new practices developed in both writing and publishing during this century.[2] Imperial Russia presented a unique set of challenges in order to reach people with ideas through print, nearly 170 million possible readers in the market. The majority of this growing population were illiterate or semi-literate peasants. An incomplete transportation system across the vast geographical distances that Russian audiences populated made distribution difficult for regular circulation of materials. In addition, nearly all citizens faced the weariness of public and state-sponsored programs, as perpetuated in the past as forms of "enlightenment" generally resulting in new waves of oppressive laws and regulations.[3] Publishers faced not merely economic and financial, but social and cultural barriers in the

[1] Charles A. Ruud, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804-1906* (Toronto, CA: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 191.
[2] Melissa Frazier, *Romantic Encounters: Writers, Readers, and the Library for Reading* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 32-33.
[3] Regina Lee Blaszczyk, *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 32.

construction of a successful business model. The combination of rising literacy and music-focused publishing houses unearthed a new era of access to music for studying and performing to an expanding number of Russians.

One institution that never took hold in Russia was the system of libraries that loaned books to civilians for periods of time. "Lending libraries never played as significant a role in Russia as they did in Western Europe, nor did coffeehouses, which means that readers in Russia were more generally also purchasers of books."[4] This truth logically directs us to grasping the popularity and quantity of small weekly pamphlets, journals, and newspapers that burgeoned during this era, from an audience interested in purchasing and owning their printed material. This would lead us to believe that reading the weekly and monthly papers fit into the reality of the middle or lower-class reader who could afford the inexpensive subscriptions for journals over hardback books.

Increase in literacy rates, particularly seen in urban centers, contributed to the picture of new trends in product demands and fiscal opportunity for businesses (see Table 3-1).

> By 1897 the literacy level for the population as a whole was only 21.1 per cent (males: 29.3 per cent; females: 13.1). But in the same year it was 55.1 percent for adults of both sexes in St. Petersburg province and 40.2 per cent in Moscow province. In the cities themselves, rates were higher still (60.7 in Moscow in 1897 and 70.5 in 1900 in St. Petersburg, for inhabitants five years or older). [5]

[4] Frazier, *Romantic Encounters: Writers, Readers, and the Library for Reading*, 22.
[5] Ruud, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804-1906*, 192.

Percentage of Literate People (both genders)	
All of Russia	21.1
St. Petersburg Province	55.1
Moscow Province	40.2
St. Petersburg City Limits (1900)*	70.5
Moscow City Limits	60.7

Table 3-1: Literary level of Russian inhabitants in 1897.[6]

Production of print materials also provided jobs to lower-class readers in the form of paper factories needed to supply this growing industry, though following far behind their European counterparts. In 1825 throughout Russia, 88 paper factories with 8,272 workers produced 740,000 reams of paper annually. By 1831, this increased in production to 808,621 reams. It was not until the 1830s that the machine printing press entered into factory standards, though only slowly replacing the hand press. The mechanization took place at the Alexandrovsky factory in St. Petersburg in the years 1828-1829, the first to go into operation in Russia. The impact of this mechanical advancement did not take hold across the industry until the end of the century. "Throughout the 1830s, however, the transfer from hand to machine presses proceeded only very slowly, largely… because of the pressure exerted on journal and newspapers publication by Nikolai's repressive regime… by 1844 mechanized presses were installed in only six of eighteen Moscow presses."[7]

Publishing continued to play a vital role in the advancement of musical study. Newly published collections of a composer's complete works offered an expanded basis of theoretical and compositional study for contemporary musicians of previous musical masters. For example, Jürgenson (to be discussed more later) published Chopin's completed works in 1873. This contributed to not only the study of music, but also the musicological pursuit of historical

[6] Ruud, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804-1906*, 192.
[7] Frazier, *Romantic Encounters: Writers, Readers, and the Library for Reading*, 40.

understanding, which also progressed during this era in Russia. The ability to label and classify previous composers into eras gave new composers a sense of historical awareness, and considerations of current issues in comparison to previous generations. This raised discussions of imitation, periodicity, and authenticity in relation to technical elements of music. These issues paired with the growing interest in traditional and folk music laid the grounds for expansive discussion and disagreement, as interpreted from the lens of cultural identity.

Scores became available not only through the publications of collections, but also as customarily published within music journals. Most issues contained new musical works in addition to criticism and biographical articles. These musical supplements offered interested subscribers the chance to play pieces of the living Russian and European composers in their homes, chosen by editors to be accessible to the amateur musician.

Until 1828, Russia had no copyright law in effect protecting the publications of works without the property rights of the author. The first legislative act put in place regarding copyright in Russia called the Censorial Charter of 1828 gave the author or translator of a published work the exclusive right to use the edition at their own discretion for the entire life the property. While given freely to those authors being published, their work had to meet the requirements of the censorial law in order to be granted the copyright. These rights did not extend to musical compositions until 1845. Legal reproduction protection lasted for the lifetime of the author plus 25 years after death; however, authors did not always have privileges in other countries. Rights depended on the current treaty between the two countries where the author sought to prevent reprinting. The resulting strategy is evident as Russian publishing houses based all or part of their manufacturing in another country in order to gain copyright protection of their publications, thus gaining profitability for the Russian authors in this particular nation. Germany and France are the two nations in which this most commonly occurred. “Russia was lagging in copyright

development through the nineteenth century; it was not until 1911 that the old Empire got a Copyright Law of reasonably modern character." [8] Russia's Copyright Act of 1911 imitated some European practices, though still with a minimal level of authorship rights and protection.

Publishing Players

Major publishing companies emerged from the urban musical centers. The first large printing house opened in 1885, under the name of the wealthy music lover Mitrofan Beliaev (1836-1903/4). Registered out of Leipzig due to the international copyright issues, the firm focused on the support of Russian composers and the propagation of Russian music, to the extent that Beliaev restricted his publishing to Russian nationalists or naturalized citizens. Sometimes luring composers from other publishing houses, Beliaev beat out competition through higher commission fees paid to composers. The publishing house was also known for incomparable quality and painstaking accuracy in its engraving. All publications were printed on the best paper, with a distinctive grey wrapping and often multi-colored title pages of their own artistic value.[9] The lavishness of these high-end publications intended to further the plight of Russian music, was, however, well outside the price range of many musicians for personal purchase.[10]

Beliaev published works by Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov, Glazunov, Glière, Grechaninov, Liadov, Medtner, Skriabin, Shcherbachiov, Taneev, Mussorgsky, and Chaikovsky. By 1895, the

[8] *Copyright and Industrial Property*, ed. Friedrich-Karl Beier and Gerhard Schricker, vol. XIV (Boston, MA: J. C. B. Mohr and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1990), 22.
[9] Richard Beattie Davis, "Belyayev, Mitrofan Petrovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/02622, accessed 12 December 2016.
[10] Rebecca Anne Mitchell, "Nietzsche's Orphans: Music and the Search for Unity in Revolutionary Russia, 1905-1921" (Ph.D., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011), 53.

company owned 850 works in its catalogue, increasing to 3,000 publications by 1914.[11] Among these, Beliaev published almost no sacred music. His decision to avoid the publication of church music, at a time when religious works still formed a large portion of music published in Russia, highlighted his interest in expanding musical knowledge outside of the realm of the already highly-supported State composers. This action verified his desire to move away from the trends of the Russian nobility and Imperial Court domination in publishing.

As a form of promotion for Russian musicians Beliaev initiated the Russian Symphonic Concerts in 1885 (the same year he began his publishing company), held solely for Russian music and the premières of new works, many of which he also published.[12] Beginning in 1891, Beliaev held musical gatherings in his private salon, the regular "Quartet Fridays," giving opportunity to unknown or rising Russian composers to perform their music and earn a reputation to assist in their professional ascent. The power that Beliaev contributed with his publishing company combined with the reputation of musical leaders in his circle became as Richard Taruskin has aptly described it, a "music guild": a collective that oversaw all elements of activity that continually recruited its talented new members through the senior members.[13] Rimsky-Korsakov acted as the circle's senior composer, along with the other Conservatory faculty Glazunov and Liadov. These leaders encouraged young composers to reproduce imitations of previous Russian composers to establish technique first before originality. This teaching philosophy received harsh reaction from the anti-establishment nationalists, Cui in particular.

Additionally, the musical tastes and interests of the Beliaev circle included a broader spectrum both historically and nationally than that of the Balakirev circle. They studied works of

[11] Davis, "Belyayev, Mitrofan Petrovich".
[12] Davis, "Belyayev, Mitrofan Petrovich".
[13] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*, 1:56.

composers as far back as Palestrina, included Wagner without contempt, and generally emphasized chamber and symphonic music over opera and art song, as seen as central to the Mighty Handful's mission in establishing a Russian national style.[14] Of course, the pivotal philosophy that divided these two groups was the perspective on Western-style academic training. Balakirev's circle discouraged formal academic training, where Beliaev's collective accepted its need in the development of a refined Russian composer. Beliaev and his group approached the issue of folklorism with much less interest than that of Balakirev's members. When they did produce folkloristic compositions, they imitated the model set forth by Balakirev's folk song harmonies, and contextual strategies, rather than doing their own first-hand research of folk songs or bothering with issues of supposed authenticity.[15] The impact of the Beliaev circle aesthetic remained as significant into the modernist movements that occurred following the turn of the century. In the composers of this era, romantic virtuosity lived on through the work of Sergei Rachmaninoff and Nikolai Medtner. Modernism blossomed in the hands of Alexander Skriabin and Igor Stravinsky. As models of modernism, Skriabin represented the heart of symbolism, while Stravinsky led the neo-nationalism aesthetic.[16] Beliaev encouraged the progress of these composers with financial and professional support.

Vasily Bessel (1843-1907) developed one of the largest and most fruitful publishing companies in Russia of the late-nineteenth century. A graduate of the St. Petersburg Conservatory and violist in the ballet orchestra of the Imperial Theaters, Vasilly with his brother Ivan opened a music shop on the city's center strip, Nevsky Prospekt, in 1869. They quickly became a thriving publishing house and issuer of music by most of the prominent Russian composers, most notability Chaikovsky, Dargomyzhsky, Rubinstein, and all the members of the

[14] Rutger Helmers, *Not Russian Enough?: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in Nineteenth-Century Russian Opera* (Rochester, MN: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 125.
[15] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 192.
[16] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 202.

Mighty Handful. Bessel kept himself in not only the center of the world of publishing, but also held a favorable reputation as a writer about music. From 1878 until 1887 he contributed articles and served as the St. Petersburg correspondent of the Leipzig *Neue allgemeine Musik-Zeitung*. While both editor and publisher, his articles also appeared in the journals *Muzykalnyĭ listok* (*Musical Leaflet*, from September 1872 to May 1877) and *Muzykalnoe obozrenie* (*Musical Review*, from September 1885 to December 1888). To complete his legacy, Bessel wrote an original book on music publishing, *Notnoe delo* (*Notational Matters*, 1901).[17]

Though based in Moscow, the Jürgenson publishing firm grew to be the largest of its kind in Russia, generating competition for Bessel, and buying out many smaller companies. Pyotr Jürgenson (1836-1903/4) entered the field as an engraver at the F.T. Stellovsky publishing house in St. Petersburg. He moved into management at C. F. Schildbach's firm in Moscow, and with the assistance of Nikolai Rubinstein, established his own music business in 1861. His lucrative organization led to the purchase of 17 smaller firms between the years 1870 and 1903, securing a monopoly in Moscow and an additional branch in Leipzig (among other cities). Working in partnership with the Moscow branch of the Russian Musical Society, Jürgenson was appointed as one of the branch's directors in 1875. His connections with composers facilitated the success of his publishing business. For instance, Jürgenson served as the principal publisher of Chaikovsky's works, and produced the complete sacred works of Bortniansky with Chaikovsky's editorship.[18] Jürgenson's firm published compositions of more than 500 Russian composers, including those by Aliabev, Arensky, Balakirev, Borodin, Chesnokov, Cui, Dargomyzhsky, Glière, Glinka, Gnessin, Grechaninov, Liadov, Prokofiev, Rachmaninoff, Rebikov, Rimsky-

[17] Geoffrey Norris and Carolyn Dunlop, "Bessel, Vasily Vasil′yevich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/02959, accessed 12 December 2016.
[18] Geoffrey Norris and Carolyn Dunlop, "Jürgenson, Pyotr Ivanovich," *Grove Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/14553, accessed 20 November 2016.

Korsakov, Anton and Nikolai Rubinstein, Skriabin, Stravinsky, Taneev, and many others. Of works by non-Russian composers, these include the complete piano editions of Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Chopin, the complete piano sonatas by Beethoven, Wagner's operas, works by Bach, Haydn, Handel, Mozart, Schubert, Liszt, and other outstanding representatives of Western musical culture.[19]

Prior to the establishment of some of the larger publishing houses, the less than scrupulous practices of F. T. Stellovsky (fl. 1850) in the 1850s led the publishing and book-selling market in Russia, making him unavoidable for rising composers. Publisher to Glinka, Balakirev, and Dostoevsky, Stellovsky "became notorious, in the fields of both music and literature, for his practice of catching his authors at moments when they were desperate for funds, offering them advances, and binding them into highly unfavorable contracts."[20] Lucrative during his lifetime, the business was carried on by family after his death, until 1886 when it was taken over by Karl Gutheil (1851-1921). The merger with the firm in Moscow (founded in 1859) elevated Gutheil's company to compete with his rivals, Jürgenson, Beliaev and Bessel. Gutheil secured the rights to works by Glinka, Dargomyzhsky, Serov, and Balakirev. Most significant of Gutheil's acquisitions were the rights to Rachmaninoff's works. The business was purchased by Koussevitsky for the sum of 300,000 rubles in 1914, which was absorbed into his own journal, *Edition Russe de musique*, established in 1909.[21] Koussevitsky legally founded his publishing firm in Berlin to ensure copyright protection, with offices in Moscow and Paris, then later in London, New York, and Leipzig. With the editorial board of Rachmaninoff, Medtner, Skriabin,

[19] "Peter Jurgenson," http://www.jurgenson.org/eng/fond/index.html, 28 December 2016.
[20]Geoffrey Norris, "Stellovsky, Fyodor Timofeyevich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/26671, accessed 8 January 2017.
[21] Geoffrey Norris, "Gutheil," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/12055, accessed 20 November 2016.

and himself, Koussevitsky published works of new composers such as Skriabin and Stravinsky, profiting in the eventual sale of the firm to Boosey & Hawkes in 1947.

Another of the long-standing publishers in St. Petersburg, the Matvei Bernard (1794-1871) firm contributed to the publications of new Russian music, supplied his own compositions, and produced his own circulating publication, *Le Nouvelliste* (The News, founded 1840), which featured Russian translations of articles out of European music journals, expanding the public knowledge of Western musical events and composers in Russia. *Le Nouvelliste* continued printing until 1916, like many others, including regular sheet music for piano and voice aimed at the amateur performer. Bernard started out with a musical career of his own as a rather successful pianist, conductor of a serf orchestra on Count Potocki's estate, and eventually as a reputable piano teacher in St. Petersburg. Bernard manufactured multiple music journals following the purchase of the Dalmas publishing house in 1829. Bernard's firm also served as a music shop and performing venue for musical recitals. Through his publications, Bernard introduced the piano works of Ivan Laskovsky, Adolf von Henselt, and Franz Liszt to Russian audiences, as well as championed the early works of Glinka and Dargomyzhsky. The Bernard publishing firm eventually absorbed into Jürgenson's publishing empire in 1885, following a fruitful 40-year era under Bernard. [22]

Though a smaller firm, the German Julius Zimmermann (1851- 1922) ran woodwind and brass instrument factories in St. Petersburg (1876), Moscow (1882), and Riga (1903). Publishing headquarters, like others, was established in Leipzig. Zimmerman, however, rather than build or purchase a manufacturing location, carried out production through another firm – Breitkopf & Härtel. Through a personal relationship, Zimmerman secured the publications of all of

[22] Geoffrey Norris, "Bernard, Matvey Ivanovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/02848, accessed 8 January 2017.

Balakirev's works, and majority of those by Sergei Liapunov, along with Nikolai Medtner, Josef Hofmann, Carl Tausig, A.S. Taneev, and Carl Reinecke. Scholars have speculated that it was Zimmerman's urging of Balakirev in his later life (having met in 1899) that invigorated the composer's later productivity.[23]

As seen through these publishing companies, the symbiotic relationships between composer and publisher functioned as the basis for the financial stability and survival of many firms. These publishers also acted as independent promotors or "sponsors" to the many Russian musicians attempting to establish themselves as professional composers in a time where this career niche was a novel concept. As artistic sponsors, the field of publishing took advantage of the growing interest in Russian music, as well as continued to further its standing in the Russian class system. This partnership between composer and publisher made for a unique set of circumstances, where financial and ideological influence no longer came directly from the government. The freedom to compose and publish music with capitalistic goals in mind of reaching a particular demographic of consumer for maximum sales, while not foreign to Russian society as a whole, was a revolutionary adoption to the sphere of music professionals in Russia.

It is interesting to note that every one of the major music publishing companies at this point were founded by a musician. Each owner had enjoyed some kind of musical training and amateur or professional musical career prior to their opening of a publishing firm. Two conclusions can be made regarding the growth of music publishing in Russia. First, it took musicians themselves to invest in the publishing of musical scores, rather than the business owners publishing literature and other forms of printed material, perhaps reflecting the risk these men were willing to take to further the standing of Russian music. Second, while more blatant in

[23] Edward Garden, "Zimmermann, Julius Heinrich," ibid.|, Cited Pages|. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/45455, accessed 12 December 2016.

some publishers than others at this time, it would seem that owners often selected composers in the same ideological camp as themselves regarding the debate over the definition of Russian music at this time. This cannot be directly linked to all owners, but these personal opinions are clear in the writings and business decisions of Beliaev, as an active promoter of new Russian music, whereas Jürgenson focused on more conservative composers (with the exception of Skriabin) and the publishing of older musical generations, both Russian and non-Russian.

Understanding the context of a growing system of capitalism, in combination with the personal relationships built between publisher and composer, reveals to us the abundant motivation of musicians to further professional progress of music education, awareness, and national pride during this time. Surely there was an element of opportunism as well, reacting to the demand of a broader crowd of citizens to play and hear about new music in Russia. The flourishing of multiple printing firms based solely on the production of musical scores and texts affirms the expanding public interest in Russian music, the advancement of education, both in music and literacy, along with the growth of a class of affluent citizens able to spend more money on entertainment than had ever existed in Russia (outside of the noble class). It was through these affordable journals that people of lower classes gained access to new musical scores and basic theoretical training that empowered and enabled them to participate in musical groups such as the choral societies that blossomed at this time.

Journals on music multiplied in number due to the increase in literacy, financial fluidity of a middle class, and growing interest in music during the nineteenth century. While the rest of this research considers activity in St. Petersburg, it is prudent to examine the Russian journals published also in Moscow, Paris, and Leipzig at this time, as they circulated to St. Petersburg's reading audiences as well. The following chart lists the journals in circulation throughout the nineteenth century either entirely centered on musical issues, or including discussions on music

with contributions from major musical figures at the time. Though not comprehensive, this list compiles the majority of publications on music, or including notable music-related sections.[24] For more details about each journal see Appendix D.

Russian Name	**English Translation**
Apollon	*Apollo*
Bayan	*Accordian*
Birzhevie vedomosti	*Stock Exchange Bulletin*
Edition Russe de musique	*Russian Music Edition*
Golos	*Voice*
Golos Moskviĭ	*Voice of Moscow*
Grazhdanin	*Citizen*
Illustrirovannaia gazeta	*Illustrated Gazette*
Iskusstvo i khudozhestvennaia promyshlennost	*Art and the Art Industry*
Izvestiia S-Peterburgskogo obshchestva muzykalnykh sobraniĭ	*Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Music Collections*
Journal de St. Petersbourg	*Journal of St. Petersburg*
K novym beregam	*Toward New Shores*
Khorovoe i regentskoe delo	*Choral and Precentor Affairs*
Krasnaia gazeta	*Red Gazette*
L'Abeille musicale	*Musical Bee*
Le Nouvelliste	*Reporter*
Melos	*Melos*
Moskovskie vedomosti	*Moscow Bulletin*
Moskovskiĭ nabludatel	*Moscow Observer*
Muzyka	*Music*
Muzyka i zhizn'	*Music and Life*
Muzyka, teatr i iskusstvo	*Music, Theatre and Art*
Muzykalnaia starina	*Music of Antiquity*
Muzykalnoe obozrenie	*Musical Review*
Muzykalno-teatralnyĭ sovremennik	*Contemporary Musical Theater*
Muzykalnye feletony i zamietki	*Musical Notes and Satires*
Muzykalnyĭ listok	*Musical Leaflet*
Muzykalnyĭ mir	*Musical World*
Muzykalnyĭ sezon	*Musical Season*
Muzykalnyĭ sovremennik	*Musical Contemporary*
Muzykalnyĭ svet	*Musical Light*
Muzykalnyĭ truzhenik	*Music Laborer*
Muzykalnyĭ vremia	*Music Era*
Nash vek	*Our Century*
Nedelia	*Weekly*

[24] Marcus C. Levitt, *Russian Literary Politics and the Pushkin Celebration of 1880* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).

Notnoe delo	*Notational Matters*
Novoe vremia	*New Era*
Novosti dnia	*News of the Day*
Novosti sezona	*News Season*
Nuvellist: Muzykalnyĭ zhurnal dlia fortepiano	*News: Musical Journal for Piano*
Nuvellist: Muzykalno-teatralnaia gazeta	*News: Musical and Theaterical Gazette*
Orkestr	*Orchestra*
Otechestvennyie zapiski	*Notes of the Fatherland*
Peterburgskaia gazeta	*Petersburg Gazette*
Peterburgskiĭ listok	*Petersburg Leaflet*
Petersburgskaia zhizn'	*St. Petersburg Life*
Rech'	*Speech*
Russkaia muzykalnaia gazeta	*Russian Musical Gazette*
Russkiĭ vedomosti	*Russian Bulletin*
Russkiĭ invalid	*The Russian Invalid*
Russkiĭ listok	*Russian Leaflet*
Russkiĭ vestnik	*Russian Herald*
Russkoye slovo	*Russian Word*
Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti	*St. Petersburg Bulletin*
Severnaia ptchela	*Northern Bee*
Severnye zapiski	*Northern Notes*
Severnyi vestnik	*Northern Herald*
Slovo	*Word*
Sovremennaia letopis	*Contemporary Chronicle*
Sovremennaia muzyka	*Contemporary Music*
Sovremennik	*Contemporary*
Sovremennoe slovo	*Contemporary Word*
Sovremennyĭ izvestia	*Contemporary News*
Svet	*Light*
Tealtralnyĭ i muzykalnyĭ vestnik	*Theatrical and Musical Herald*
Teatr i iskusstvo	*Theater and Art*
Teatr i zhizn	*Theater and Life*
Teatr izvestia	*Theater News*
Teatral	*Theater-Goer*
Teleskop	*Telescope*
Utro Rossiĭ	*Russia Morning*
Vestnik Evropy	*European Herald*
Vesy	*Scales*
Voskresnyĭ listok muzyki i obiavienia	*Sunday Sheet Music and Announcements*
Zhizn' iskusstva	*Life of Art*
Zolotoe runo	*Golden Fleece*

Who's Writing about Music?

Through the written expressions of individual authors, and conclusions drawn from their direct support or dissent of differing groups, these men can be generally categorized into ideological groups: conservatives, progressives, and modernists. These designations are based on the philosophical, theoretical, and socio-political discussions over the progress of music in Russia. This included educational standards for music training, the definition of Russian music as a national form, and the role and treatment of folk music in composition. Though not all fit perfectly into each category, many active musicians, particularly those who voiced their opinions in print, were pressured to stand on one or the other side of the debate on each issue. The most blatant expression used to "choose sides" was one's support for or opposition to the Mighty Handful composers.

The conservative camp primarily differed in its stance on musical education. They believed that the Western model of music education and formal training served as an effective and necessary tool for any performer or composer wishing to master the trade. This is seen in the imported model of the St. Petersburg Conservatory as designed and established by Rubinstein, which is why he serves in historical documentation as the fiercest opposition to the Kuchka. Rubinstein, however, was not alone in his beliefs.

Conservative Critics	
Mikhail Ivanov (1849-1927)	Vladimir Odoevsky (1803–1869)
Herman Laroche (1845-1904)	Anton Rubinstein (1829–1894)
Ivan Lipaev (1865-1942)	Alexander Serov (1820–1871)
Nikolai Medtner (1880-1951)	Nikolai Soloviev (1846-1916)
Alexander Famintsyn (1841-1896)	Lev Tolstoy (1828-1910)

Table 3-2: List of writers on music commonly labelled conservative.

Critics Considered Conservative

The central issue that unified the group of composers and critics labelled conservative was the agreement that formal training in music was useful for both performers and composers alike who aimed to pursue music as a profession beyond that of an amateur. Of the other subjects that differentiated the progressives from conservatives, they were not nearly as unified in their goals, rather they were often labelled conservative by the progressive musicians as a derivative title, not as one they necessary called themselves.

A pioneer in the field of music criticism, Prince Vladimir Odoevsky (1804-1869) made a career as a prominent Russian writer of short stories, philosopher, composer, and philanthropist. Additional to his work in the field of government, Odoevsky assisted in the foundation of the Russian Musical Society, Moscow Conservatory, and St. Petersburg Conservatory. Running with members of the Pushkin circle were fellow journalists, literary figures, and publisher. Odoevsky wrote on a variety of subjects, including music. Active as a critic and journalist, the literary

magazine *Mnemozina* (*Mnemozina*,[25] 1824-1825) that he co-founded was far overshadowed by the famous publication *Sovremennik* (*Contemporary*, 1836-1866), which he established with partner Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837) just a year before the famous novelist's untimely death. With Vissarion Belinsky as editor, this journal reached thousands of readers with their propaganda of democratic ideas, making it very popular with the Russian intelligentsia.[26]

Amidst this and other journals, Odoevsky wrote on a variety of subjects, including musical issues such as ancient Russian church music, Russian folk song, the enharmonic piano, acoustics, and the promotion of Russian music. Cornwell described the critical role of Odoevsky in his book on the life and times of the composer: "He was the first critic to promote a Russian musical art, and in so doing, thanks to his professional standard of technical knowledge, revealed the ignorance and prejudice of musical reviewers of the day."[27] Odoevsky contributed critical reviews and encyclopedic entries to public and educational music resources. Glinka was among his close friends, whom he championed among other Russian musicians. Odoevsky also revered Monteverdi, Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, and Wagner, and openly voiced hostility towards modern Italian opera, in part because of its predominance in Russian theaters, causing difficulty for the emergence and success of new Russian productions.[28] Through his own personal studies of composition and piano, Odoevsky encountered and composed a variety of types of music: instrumental pieces, *romances*, organ music, settings of folk songs, and contrapuntal exercises for voices, the latter a deliberate imitations of the style of Bach.[29] In his support of Russian music, Odoevsky shared a common belief with the Slavophiles (though entirely removed from

[25] *Mnemozina* is the name of the Greek goddess of memory, and the mother of the Muses by Zeus.
[26] James Stuart Campbell, "Odoyevsky, Prince Vladimir Fyodorovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20259, accessed 20 November 2016.
[27] Neil Cornwell, *V.F. Odoevsky: His Life, Times and Milieu* (London, UK; New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2015), 124.
[28] Campbell, "Odoyevsky, Prince Vladimir Fyodorovich".
[29] Cornwell, *V.F. Odoevsky: His Life, Times and Milieu*, 124.

this movement) in the power and destiny of Russian culture, inclined towards the concept of *narodnost* (national character) in art and the aim to raise standards of musical taste in Russia.

Odoevsky can be credited as the first to publicly promote and popularize Glinka's operas as nationalist, artistic creations. He referred to *Ruslan and Lyudmila* as the merger of "our two great national glories,"[30] referring to Pushkin and Glinka himself. As a respected historian, composer, musicologist, author, and journalist, Odoevsky managed to trigger the debate over pivotal issues like Glinka, *narodnost*, musical education, and Western traditions as present in Russia. His noble position allotted him education, financial freedom, and influence enough to speak critically and boldly regarding art and music. Odoevsky laid the stepping-stones for modern music criticism and philosophical discussions on music, which served to elevate the field to a similar position of scholarly treatment and respect as literature.

Following in the lead of Odoevsky, Alexander Serov (1820–1871) became one of the most important music critics in Russia during the 1850s and 1860s. Beginning his professional studies as a lawyer, Serov met Vladimir Stasov in school, whom he befriended, only later to become rivals over the values of Glinka. In 1851, Serov left his government position to compose music and write professionally for a living. Serov's professional decision to "suffer for his art" by throwing off his law degree, and standing as the son of a distinguished civil servant, demonstrated not only his passion for music, but his commitment to the romantic ideology of art and music as a sacrificial endeavor for a true artist. "He became a martyr to his art, dressing shabbily (he is reputed to have worn the same hat for 20 years) and existing on the slender proceeds of musical criticism."[31] Serov successfully wrote and produced three operas in the

[30] Cornwell, *V.F. Odoevsky: His Life, Times and Milieu*, 138.
[31] Garden Edward and Campbell Stuart, "Serov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/25472, accessed 1 December 2016.

1860s. The extreme popularity of his operas elevated him to the most successful Russian opera composer of the decade, and proved his competency as a composer.

Without holding any official position at a conservatory, or a major organization, Serov's critical writings on music confirm his place as one of the most significant Russian musicians of the 1860s. His position, however, was riddled with conflict between other intellectuals. For instance, he and Stasov diverged from agreement over Glinka's operas, the Kuchka did not uphold him because of his admiration for Wagner, and younger competing critics portrayed Serov as hostile to the "New Russian School." Regardless of strained personal relationships, Serov championed the establishment of Russian music by encouraging the creation of indigenous repertoires, seen not only in his journalism, but also in his operas.

Serov firmly believed that the Conservatory was a merely a German teaching establishment, thus stifling the development of a characteristically Russian national music. Also, using the popular Romantic era philosophy of organicism as applied to both criticism and composition, Serov expressed his belief that true genius only develops naturally, on the basis of *narodnost* as its beginnings.[32] Expressing his views on criticism and organicism, Serov wrote in 1860:

> For someone who wants to be a real judge of musical and music-theatre matters (and not merely to 'pass' for a musical Aristarchus [referring to his insults of Stasov] in a group of … architects and engravers), for such a person 'retrospection' and admiration confined to individual parts, bits, and pieces of an opera, one number here, one phrase there, a chord somewhere else, various musical odds and ends unconnected to all the rest, is not nearly enough. On the contrary, the first requirement of a true critic of art is to observe the object as a unity, as a complete organism, to judge this organism and its circumstances in comparison with the demands of the age in which the work was created, and with the demands of his own day. To a true critic the future of art cannot remain closed or appear in a false light. Like the Janus of the ancient Romans, the art critic casts a sure eye over

[32] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 90-91.

> both what has been and what is to come. One opposed to progress is not in a position to be a critic.[33]

In his book of collective critical articles from 1830-1880, Campbell summarized Serov's writing style: "Indeed, vitriolic zest marks out most of Serov's prose, and with his certainties and absolutes (often self-contradictory) made him one of the most controversial figures in the Russian musical world of his day."[34] Serov attacked the repertoire of the Russian Musical Society as "German, conservative, and old-fashioned," while dismissing Rubinstein as a composer, and an amateur conductor.[35] Personal offenses provoked the harshness of Serov, having been passed over for positions on the advisory committee of the Russian Musical Society and for a teaching position at the conservatory. Though it was Stasov that used the phrase "Mighty Handful" as a positive reference to the composers debuting works at the all-Russian concert organized by Balakirev in 1867, Serov turned the term into a mocking nickname for the Balakirev circle. In Serov's 1859 review of the newly-published songs and *romance*s by Balakirev, his contradictory nature is evident, with praise of the virtue of the songs, and stinging insults at the technical level of the compositions.

> Mr. Balakirev's name must be familiar to our readers. We have had occasion more than once to speak about this young talent's bright beams, for whom the most brilliant future lies in store… I cannot find words of sufficient warmth to greet the twelve vocal pieces with which M. A. Balakirev opens his public activity as a composer. Please do not think, however, that all these are model compositions. On the contrary, the greater part of these romances are quite immature and moreover in their actual character they are not at all for the general taste, whereas for the more refined and educated taste they contain little succulent nourishment.[36]

[33] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 132.
[34] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 57.
[35] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 41.
[36] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 58. *Versts* is Russian for miles.

He goes on to promote his personal ideology by defending the natural talent of Balakirev:

> But what is especially consoling about them is the noble musicality, which is a million *versts* removed from the vulgar trivialities and commonplaces (*poshlost'*) which flood our music shops; what is precious, nay, invaluable, in these first fruits is the undoubted, genuine talent which the composer possesses. Genuine musical blood related to that of Glinka and Schumann flows through this music's veins; the world's highest aristocratic principle – that is, an urgent vocation to art – flows here.[37]

Serov's tactics, regardless of the consistency of his arguments, made him of the most important and memorable of the critics of the nineteenth century.

After Glinka's death in 1860, debate increased on the importance and merits of his two operas. This topic was treated as vital to the differing sides' musical definitions of Russian national characteristics that Serov and Stasov clashed. Though unlikely known by the common reader, a great part of the animosity between the two men was complicated by personal, rather than professional matters. Stasov's affair with Serov's sister only fanned the flame of disagreement over the merits of Glinka as representative of national music. By 1870, the battling camps of Russian music, "Rubinstein-Conservatory, Balakirev-Free Music School, the Serovian 'opposition' – had become so firmly entrenched in their respective positions and mutual hatreds that one tends to forget the atmosphere of sweet camaraderie that prevailed a decade earlier."[38] A nostalgic glimpse of the pleasant relationship long past, Stasov wrote a memory of his former friend Serov in the 1894 memoir on César Cui, more than 20 years after his passing:

> Serov himself, the most noteworthy writer on music and critic of the fifties, who was then still forward-looking and who then had a great influence on the better members of our public, made Cui's acquaintance with pleasure, delighted in his interesting and talented nature, his first experiments in composition, and, in turn, was an object of great affection, even adoration on the part of Cui. Nor is this hard to understand. Serov was such an animated, diverting conversationalist, especially when it came to music; he in those days so passionately loved all that was highest and best in music, especially Beethoven and

[37] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 58.
[38] Taruskin, *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue*, 96.

> Glinka; he was so enthusiastic, and so gifted in enthusing others; his nature contained so many truly artistic, warm, and lively traits! So one can see why God only knows how pleasant it was for Cui and Balakirev to be in close contact with such a nature. And they all three got together very often (and I, too, belong to that company though I was not a musician, but a long-standing friend and comrade of Serov's who in fact grew up with him, but was not very close to these *newly arrived*, talented Russian musicians). But starting in 1858-59, things changed.[39]

The press controversy between Stasov and Serov waged over the credibility of Glinka, and the Kuchka, whom Serov virulently opposed, with the exception of Rimsky-Korsakov, who he treated respectfully to the end of his life. Serov used his public platform to praise Glinka as genius, and express his views on nationalism in music:

> As creations of the highest degree of artistry and as the works of the sole Russian composer of genius hitherto, the operas of M. I. Glinka furnish an extensive field for critical investigation from all possible angles. Our whole theory of national identity (*narodnost'*) in operative music has to rest on Glinka's works as its foundation-stone. The entire future development of the art of music in Russia is intimately and inseparably bound up with Glinka's scores.[40]

Serov went on to pick through the article simultaneously published on Glinka posthumously by Stasov, degrading the accuracy of the musical analysis, and the ability of the author to both write and think clearly:

> In view of the roughness of the language and sometimes the complete inability of the author to set out his stock of ideas in any coherent or elegant fashion, ideas in which one occasionally glimpse a confused flash of truth, it is fairly difficult to guess what the author of the article 'An opera which has suffered much' is trying to say…To everyone familiar with operatic music in general and the operas of Glinka in particular the incorrectness of V. V. Stasov's views is obvious right from the start; but since there is not an opinion which when uttered with confidence and pretension to being serious thinking could not find adherents…[41]

[39] Taruskin, *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue*, 96-97.
[40] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 105.
[41] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 106.

Here Serov took jabs at both Italian and French opera librettists, to which he later describes in defense of the libretto that the piece-meal fashion was a symptom of Glinka's innate genius, writing the operatic acts separately as naturally inspired:

> On account of the depth and breadth of his genius, Glinka of course could not have been content with any sort of routine, commonplace nonsense (that is, had people been able to fabricate easily such nonsense as is found in the libretti *di dieci scudi* prepared for Bellini and Donizetti, to say nothing of rhetoricians of depressing memory such as Metastasio and da Ponte). [42]

Following the break in relationship with Stasov, Serov attempted to remain civil with the rest of the progressive camp. In regards to Cui's debut in 1859 as a serious composer with a performance of his work at the Russian Musical Society concert, Serov cordially praised the evident skill and potential present in these pieces:

> In conclusion–greetings to a Russian composer who made his first appearance before the public with an extremely remarkable work. The scherzo of César Antonovich Cui, a student of Stanislaw Moniuszko, is, in its individual way, closely related to Schumann's symphonic works with shades of something Chopinesque as well. There are hardly any vivid "effects," whether of invention or of orchestral combination, but all the ideas inhabit the noblest spheres, are combined and developed effortlessly with a profound internal logic. In the technical workmanship of the rhythm, harmony, and orchestration, one can see knowledge and subtle planning, such as one very rarely encounters in debutants. From one who beings *thus*, one can expect *much* that is uncommonly good. Make way, make way for *Russian* musicians. There will be the most unexpected, the most heartening results.[43]

Following his staging of Wagner's *Lohengrin* in 1867 that received derision by the Mighty Handful, Serov went "to the camp of the Russian Musical Society, he made common cause with the conservative wing by demanding Balakirev's dismissal."[44] Successful in this endeavor, Pavlovna removed Balakirev from his post as the Russian Musical Society conductor in 1869.

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[42] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 107.
[43] Taruskin, *Musorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue*, 97-98.
[44] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 43-44.

It would seem that Serov straddled both the conservative and progressive camps as it suited his needs. His opposition to the Conservatory aligned with the Kuchka and most progressives, but his personal conflicts combined with his adamant support of Wagner pushed Serov to the conservative camp, at least in function of the contemporary debates. It is, however, unusual to think of Wagner as a conservative figure, though in Russia it was the case in some discussions. Ideologically, Serov may have agreed with progressives on multiple issues, but he did not fit properly enough into their milieu to be welcomed by them. In truth, Serov made himself an opponent to both Rubinstein and Balakirev and their respective circles of support. "Serov usually spoke for himself alone, since he was a particularly quarrelsome character."[45]

The seminal figure in the crossfire of conservatives and progressives was Anton Rubinstein (1829-1894), primarily due to his part in founding the St. Petersburg Conservatory, the first of its kind in Russia. Contemporaries considered and labeled Rubinstein conservative because of his stance on music education in Russia, his cosmopolitan performance repertoire, and from analysis of his compositions. As an ethnic Jew (child of converted Christian parents) in an ever-increasing anti-Semitic society, Rubinstein struggled with questions of religion, nationalism, and socio-legal status, having to negotiate the borders between the emerging Russian and Jewish national identities. Rubinstein adamantly avoided taking part in the press controversy that developed around the organization and establishment of the Conservatory. He did voice his thoughts on criticism in an 1861 article, "The State of Music in Russia":

> What must we conclude from all this about romances written by amateurs? That only sometimes do they have good melodies, yet surely enough of them to satisfy the demands of art? Of course not, and besides, the critic will say nothing, since criticism itself is dumb and does not have the right to analyse the composition of an amateur who follows his art merely for his own pleasure, without any thought of fame or money; in any case, without such desires the arts have no chance. A person publishing his compositions must try to make a name for himself in music, to win a right to glory, European fame and

[45] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, xiv.

> immortality. Only then will he work as people work when they want to become worthy of their art. For this, one must be dedicated and complete artist and, most importantly, not do anything without ambition; the absence of this emotion is the distinctive characteristic of a mediocre nature, leading to the complete stagnation of intellectual abilities. [46]

Having avoided publishing much about peers during his lifetime, Rubinstein's personal reflections on his colleagues are found in his autobiography. For example, Rubinstein flattered Herman Laroche as "a highly educated man, who wields a clever pen as musical critic, and understands the theory of music better than most professors."[47] As Laroche was well-known for his successful work with choral ensembles, Rubinstein also addresses the challenge of assessing vocal coaches such as him: "The competent teachers who have been graduated from the Conservatory may be reckoned by the dozens; … but in regard to singing, it is difficult to say who are the superior and who the inferior teachers… the best master in the world may ruin the voice of his pupil when trying to cultivate it." [48] These musings reveal more about Rubinstein's personal ideologies on music. However, Rubinstein's categorical label to an ideological camp was assigned to him thanks to the criticism of his performance techniques and selections. An example of this comes from the German critic Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904), who characterized Rubinstein's playing:

> We always follow Rubinstein's playing with a sense of infinite delight. His youthful and untiring vigor, his incomparable power of bringing out the melody, his perfection of touch in the stormy torrents of passion, as well as in the tender long-drawn notes of pathos, his wonderful memory, and his energy that knows no fatigue – these are the qualities which amaze us in Rubinstein's playing.[49]

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[46] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 69.
[47] Anton Rubinstein and Aline P. Delano, *Autobiography of Anton Rubenstein 1829-1889. Translated from the Russian by Aline Delano* (London, UK: Little, Brown, and Company, 1890), 111.
[48] Rubinstein and Delano, *Autobiography of Anton Rubenstein 1829-1889. Translated from the Russian by Aline Delano*, 111.
[49] Rubinstein and Delano, *Autobiography of Anton Rubenstein 1829-1889. Translated from the Russian by Aline Delano*, 164-65.

Similarly, the Russian literary and ballet critic Andrei Levenson wrote about the influence of Rubinstein's concerts in Moscow, giving elated praise to Rubinstein's technique, musicality, and natural talent. This snippet gives the picture of Levenson's acclaim:

> Nothing so elevates mankind as the worship of men of genius… This is the kind of feeling inspired by Rubinstein. Can there be a higher delight for the man who loves and appreciates music than to see and hear the man of genius? In listening to Anton Rubinstein, one receives an impression not unlike that produced by some magnificent display of the elements… Why allude to the technique of this man of genius? Here also he differs from all others, and sets at defiance formerly accepted methods.[50]

In an era of increasing anti-Semitic sentiments, Rubinstein regarded Wagner and his music as merely a manifestation of nationalism taken to a tainted extreme. During the 1870s, Rubinstein wrestled with lurking political dangers and his own perception of the role of art. Rubinstein concluded that "art had the highest ethical function whose primary purpose was to uplift and spiritualize, not necessarily to entertain; that art was not democratic but rather an aristocratic manifestation."[51] Here Rubinstein stated that musicians should recognize their vocation as a nearly priestly mission to write music with the purpose of affecting modern events and fellow artists, a calling more then that of producing peripheral and decorative entertainment.

It was César Cui that initiated the notion that Rubinstein was Germanic–thus not representative of Russia's national musical heritage–in his articles on the history of Russian music from the *Revue et Gazette musical de Paris* in the years 1878-1880.[52] There is personal evidence contrary to this label, in which Rubinstein also took pride in his Russian nationality, for example, writing to his mother with excitement in the 1860s when Russian newspapers "began to refer to him as 'our Russian composer and artist.'" He boasted that he would "finally be

[50] Rubinstein and Delano, *Autobiography of Anton Rubenstein 1829-1889. Translated from the Russian by Aline Delano*, 171.
[51] Larry Sitsky, *Anton Rubinstein: An Annotated Catalog of Piano Works and Biography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 21.
[52] Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*, 44, footnote 112.

considered a Russian in Russia."[53] Following his years of travel during the Crimean War (1853-56), a sense of national identification with Russia seemed to spur him towards a longing for Russia. For instance, in 1855, in a letter to his mother, he described his refusal of concert engagements in England due to "patriotic reasons."[54] Other personal writings expose his anxiety over the inability to relate closely with any one religious, cultural, or ethnic group. The reality was that late Imperial Russia insisted on clearly marked boundaries between Russian and non-Russians, Christians, and Jews. Rubinstein's indeterminate status surely drove him to transcend the binding categories, and to progress as a new social group–the Free Artist.

Rubinstein faced the most ferocious opposition from the two most influential music critics in Russia at this time, Vladimir Stasov (1824-1906) and Alexander Serov (1820-1871). Stasov sternly denounced Rubinstein's description of Romanticism in art as self-sacrifice in the *Severnaia ptchela* (*Northern Bee*) in February 1861. Through a more conservative nationalistic lens, Stasov's statements aimed to alienate Rubinstein and dismiss his philosophies on art, education, and Western musical imports: "Mr. Rubinstein is a foreigner [*inostranets*] with nothing in common either with our nationality [*narodnost*] or out art." [55]

Serov's attacks belittled both the conservatory and Jews, a professional and personal offense to Rubinstein. In other writings, he refers to Rubinstein as "Rebenstein," a pun on the Russian word for rabbi, and nicknamed the St. Petersburg Conservatory "the synagogue."[56] Other critics from the 1860s similarly accused the establishment of being a Jewish haven. From the journal *Severnaia ptchela* (*Northern Bee*), Serov hurled his attack:

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[53] James Benjamin Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 26.
[54] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire*, 23.
[55] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire*, 30.
[56] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire*, 31.

> We Russians voluntarily yield to the oppression of talentless foreigners, musical Yankels… Soon, with the founding of the conservatoire they sought for themselves as the future breeding ground for talentless musical civil servants, they will begin to throw their weight around in the province they have acquired in a thoroughly despotic manner, trying to crush any musical talent in Russia that does not spring from within their own Yankel ranks.[57]

Through these blatant attacks, Serov not only disassociated himself with the Conservatory and the likes of a conservative Jew, Rubinstein, but also proclaimed his dedication to the anti-Semitic composer Richard Wagner. In the few public responses given by Rubinstein on these subjects, he diplomatically spoke in the language of cultural nationalism as politically necessary during the 1880s. In his 1889 letter in *Novoe vremia* (*New Era*), Rubinstein claimed his patriotic loyalty to the "fatherland," and argued for an imperial model of Russian national identity, based on citizenship rather than exclusively on ethnic identity. Rubinstein's output of vocal music displays a compelling connection of Russian identity with choral music, compared to the prominance of German in the other vocal genres. Rubinstein wrote all solo songs in the form of German lieder on German texts. He wrote no solo songs with Russian texts. However, four out of thirteen of Rubinstein's operas were written in Russian, based on Russian stories. The nine other operas in German show the dominance of the German language in this genre with some infusion of Russian. Russian texts are most decidedly represented in his choral works. Over half of his choral publications are in Russian, including two large-scale works with orchestra. The remaining works in German consist of part-songs and two choral-orchestral pieces. Rubinstein's choral output includes the highest percentage of Russian language usage in all of his vocal works, suggesting that Rubinstein perceived this genre as more closely connected to Russian identification, even though Germany maintained a formidable choral tradition as well.

[57] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire*, 30.

By calling on the state to legitimize the educational institutions, Rubinstein hoped that the training provided to military, church, and state musicians would produce musicians acknowledged as Russians, despite their individual origins. Rubinstein even proposed a new symphony orchestra for the Imperial Russian Musical Society devoted solely to the Russian national repertoire, among other plans for programming such music. This stance of modern ethnic nationalism quite liberally contrasted with the government belief in the necessary power and legitimacy of a strong Russian state. Maintaining their governmental support, the Conservatory remained open, but Rubinstein merely quelled the controversy, doing little to halt the discussion, which continued in the press.[58]

The struggle over philosophical ideas on nationalism, combined with the growing anti-Semitic atmosphere plagued Rubinstein's career in Russia. He found great success in Europe and America, though his homeland (to which he referred) did not grant him similar praise. Rubinstein is a clear example of the primacy of political elevation required throughout the end of the nineteenth century, as well as the power evident in printed press on the reception of a musician. It yielded the power to increase or in this case, limit professional success through public derision and rhetorical persuasion.

Count Lev Nikolaievich Tolstoy (1828-1910), referred to in English as Leo, must be regarded as an influential writer on music and art, in addition to his contributions to Russian literature. Tolstoy had no serious musical training, but as an amateur pianist himself, and represented in figures from his novels, music played an important part of his personal life. The formulation of his philosophies of art and music were most clearly expressed in his essay "Chto takoe iskusstvo?" ("What is Art?," 1898). Here he described his belief of the physical effects of music and its power to make men act against their own wills, sometimes for good, but more

[58] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire*, 50-51.

often for evil. A polemic writing in which challenged accepted ideas of ethics and aesthetics, "What is Art?" defined "all art as 'a human activity, whereby man consciously, by means of certain external signs, transmits to others feelings he has experienced, and makes other experience them too.'"[59] The extreme expression of this idea is found in his novella *Kraitserova sonata* (*The Kreutzer Sonata*, 1889) where the powerful music shared between the adulterous wife and her lover spurs on the violence of the betrayed husband to murder his wife with a dagger.

Tolstoy's beliefs may have seemed inconsistent between his personal writings in diaries, letters, and novels, versus his philosophical and critical publications. In 'What is Art?' Tolstoy claimed that true art should be immediately comprehensible to its audience and that two or more arts should not be combined, as one takes away from the experience of the other. For instance, he disliked songs and opera because words should not be needed to make the musical expression more explicit. He did not appreciate the wave of new Russian music, claiming that "pure" folk songs being used were corrupted versions of the authentic. His personal experience with music and the peasantry came during his teaching tenure at the Iasnaia Poliana school where he taught a variety of subjects including reading, writing, history, geography, and the arts. Due to the enthusiasm for singing that he observed, Tolstoy incorporated choral singing into their class as the vehicle to teach them chords, scales, theory, and harmony using a method similar to the French music pedagogue Louis Chevet. Tolstoy claims he saw workmen singing as a result of Chevet's methods, "which he saw as ideal for making music popular and accessible to the working classes."[60] He aimed to develop a method that would function in the same fashion for Russian peasants. Having made progress with his children, he notes that the free and self-

[59] Fitzlyon April, "Tolstoy, Lev Nikolayevich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/28073, accessed 12 December 2016.
[60] Dan Moulin, *Leo Tolstoy* (London, UK; New York, NY: Continuum, 2011), 88.

motivated learning was "spoilt by 'vainglory' as the teachers decided to arrange a performance of the children's singing at the local church." [61] Tolstoy believed that participation in art was an important human aspiration equally for people of all social classes; therefore, teaching the arts was necessary for healthy development and to make sense of their individual lives and the world around them. Early in his writing career, in 1850, Tolstoy wrote a philosophical essay on methods of learning music and harmony, "Temporary Method for Learning Music," that merely expressed personal contemplations, not pedagogical strategies.

In line with the progressives who held that music education only detracted from the creative process of a composer, Tolstoy wrote on the conditions affecting the creation of new artistic works, including music:

> The third condition of the perversion of art, namely, art schools, is almost more harmful still … Art is the transmission to others of a special feeling experienced by the artist. How can this be taught in schools? … No school can evoke feeling in a man, and still less can it teach him how to manifest it in the one particular manner natural to him alone.[62]

Tolstoy voiced his disdain for Wagner's art:

> The chief poetical production of Wagner is *The Nibelung's Ring* … It is a model work of counterfeit art, so gross as to be even ridiculous… Of music, i.e., of art serving as a means to transmit a state of mind experienced by the author, there is not even a suggestion. There is something that is absolutely unintelligible musically. In a musical sense a hope is continually experience, followed by disappointment, as if a musical thought were commenced only to be broken off. If there are something like musical commencements these commencements are so short, so encumbered with complications of harmony and orchestration and with effects of contrast, are so obscure and unfinished, and what is happening on the stage meanwhile is so abominably false, that it is difficult even to perceive these musical snatches, let alone be infected by them.[63]

Though Tolstoy did not compose music himself, his writing on music, and his philosophies surrounding art, thanks to his widespread reputation contributed to the dialogue surrounding the

[61] Moulin, *Leo Tolstoy*, 88.
[62] Leo Tolstoy and G. H. Perris, *The Life and Teaching of Leo Tolstoy: A Book of Extracts* (London, UK: G. Richards, 1904), 209.
[63] Tolstoy and Perris, *The Life and Teaching of Leo Tolstoy: A Book of Extracts*, 211-12.

role of music in education, Wagnerism, and personal expression as evident in an artist or musicians work. Adding fuel to the fire, his writings did not defend any particular group of musicians, including Russians, making the interpretation and application of his perspectives variable in some situations. He did along with Dostoevsky, however, "all but openly" campaign against Wagner. After attending the opera *Siegfried* (1896), Tolstoy evaluated Wagner's compositions as "worthless."[64] Tolstoy did not support the educational mission of the conservatives, but also did not favor the nationalistic movement in art and music beyond his desire that people of all classes should partake in musical activities.

Graduate of and teacher of theory at the St. Petersburg Conservatory, Nikolai Soloviev (1846-1916) acquired a reputation as being in opposition to the contemporary scene as a music critic. Active as a composer of opera and orchestrator, Soloviev criticized the work of Chaikovsky and the Might Handful. He published regularly in the St. Petersburg periodicals *Novoe vremia* (*New Era*) and the *Sankt-Petersburgski vedomosti* (*St. Petersburg Bulletin*). His most hostile criticisms were aimed at Chaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov—a fellow professor at the Conservatory. Having lost in a compositional competition against Chaikovsky in 1875, Soloviev praised *Eugene Onegin*, but never forgave his rival.[65] In 1895, Soloviev also published denunciations of Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *Christmas Eve* in both the journals *Birzhevie vedomosti* (*Stock Exchange Bulletin*) and *Svet* (*Light*).[66]

The music critic, pianist, and teacher, Herman Laroche (1845-1904) followed in the footsteps of his predecessors Rubinstein and Zaremba, after his education at both the Moscow

[64] Amanda Marsrow, "Contexts of Symbolist Music in Silver Age Russia, 1861-1917" (Southern Methodist University, Thesis, 2008), 31.
[65] Garden Edward and Spencer Jennifer, "Solov′yov, Nikolay Feopemptovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/26168, accessed 1 December 2016.
[66] V. V. Iastrebtsev and Florence Jonas, *Reminiscences of Rimsky-Korsakov* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1985), 133.

and St. Petersburg Conservatories. While teaching theory and history at both institutions over the course of his career, Laroche published about music continuously from the time he was 22 years old until his death. He wrote extensively about Russian music, literature, and current affairs surrounding these subjects. Known for a philosophical style and approach to writing on music, Laroche contributed to a large number of journals, reviewing operatic and concert performances, evaluated newly-composed works, and discussed musical events on issues not excluding the European musical world. In general, Laroche voiced a more cosmopolitan stance than was common in Russian criticism of his time. Due to his pluralistic outlook, it is no surprise that he took great interest in Chaikovsky's music and remained a champion of his works even while displaying hostility towards the Balakirev circle. The article "Chaikovskiĭ kak dramaticheskiĭ kompozitor" ("Tchaikovsky as a Dramatic Composer") published in 1894 contributed to Chaikovsky's legacy, only a year after his death. Similarly important, Laroche wrote an extended essay on Glinka, solidifying his reputation as a respected author on music.[67]

However interested Laroche might have been in Russian music, he firmly stood by his opinion that formal training and study of Renaissance counterpoint techniques were vital to any composer. A reflection of his own academic training, Laroche dismissed works he felt demonstrated backwardness of Russian musical progress by avoiding this kind of training, such as that of Mussorgsky. In an article reviewing Serov's opera *Rogneda* in 1869, Laroche expressed his backing of the newly-founded training institutions of music in Russia:

> At almost the same time the [Russian] Musical Society was being founded in St. Petersburg, which later opened branches in Moscow, Kiev and Khar'kov. This Society's concerts gave composers a new opportunity of coming before the judgement of the public, of hearing their own works performed in orchestral guise and of making artistic progress (prior to this, access to concerts was very difficult for [the works of] Russian

[67] James Stuart Campbell, "Laroche, Herman," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/16035, accessed 20 November 2016.

> composers). The Conservatoires which the RMS opened laid the first foundation for that full and systematic study of music without which the formation and continuous existence of orchestras and choirs which rise above a workmanlike and amateur level are inconceivable.[68]

From his 1864 article, Laroche reacts to the series of lectures given by Serov at the conservatory on the subject "The present-day condition of music and musical pedagogy." [69] Clearly a rebuttal to the Serov's stance on the organicism of composition, Laroche harshly criticized the opposing perspective both back-handedly and blatantly, using Serov's operas as examples of his own technical weaknesses:

> In the tenth lecture which A. N. Serov gave in Mr. Konstky's hall, our gifted critic and composer touched on conservatoires in general and that in St. Petersburg in particular. While acknowledging the establishment's noble aim, Mr. Serov tried to persuade his listeners that one cannot expect a national Russian development of music from a college in which Germans teach, and in general terms a school cannot form an artist. Warming to the novelty of his views, Mr. Serov pronounced that a true genius develops of its own accord; he did not, however, say how this comes about and forced his listeners to think that an artist develops organically, like a tree, rather as *narodnost'* developed in the late *Russkaya beseda* ('Russian debate')…This is perhaps the first time that we have heard from someone in a responsible position and apparently seriously such pitiless mockery of the credulity and the worship of a once recognized authority… Mr. Serov is sweetly oblivious of the fact that all the great composers of all tendencies and periods were in complete control of their technique; he must know that the only exception is he himself, as innocent as a baby 'of dry, scholastic, mechanical, narrowly professional contrapuntal combinations'. The extreme triteness of those parts of *Judith* where he wished to be a contrapuntist, for example the fugato in Act I, served as splendid proof of this…[70]

Campbell elaborated on Laroche's professional evaluation of musical knowledge, his range of musical tastes, and his perspective of Serov:

> Laroche tended increasingly towards skepticism about the more extreme manifestations of modernism in music, sharing Tchaikovsky's idolization of Mozart. Laroche alludes to Serov's connection with the 'organic criticism' associated primarily with the writer and critic Apollon Grigor'yev (1822-64). The principles of the approach are not very clear,

[68] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 155. G. A. Laroche: "On Rogneda. *Contemporary Chronicle,* 1869, no. 2, pp. 19-26.
[69] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 89.
[70] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 90.

> but it seems to have involved regarding art not from a utilitarian perspective as had become common, but as a natural, whole outgrowth of the society which produced it.[71]

Attacking the progressive composers as a whole, in the same article Laroche labels the inferred Balakirev circle as amateurs, while praising Rubinstein:

> Mr. Serov has suddenly gone over to the camp of certain amateurs who are enemies of serious study of whatever it might be, but who consider themselves specifically Russian composers. It was rather flattering and unexpected for them to see in their midst a Wagnerian; *c'était même très chic*; but for the Conservatoire and its unselfish director who is entirely at the service of art, on the other hand, it must be flattering to be accused of lacking talent and so on by a critic who places Verstovsky above Glinka as a national (*narodynïy*) composer, forgetting once more that Verstovsky is national (*narodynïy*) in the same way as Flotow and Offenbach. [72]

In an 1869 review of Serov's opera *Rogneda*, Laroche establishes the position of Serov as a Wagnerite, leaning towards conservatism in reference to his compositional techniques:

> In his tendency as a composer Serov is just as free from the Wagnerites' contempt for technique as he is from their views on 'organic unity' and 'absolute melody.' One must add, however, that in his conservative tendency Serov sometimes goes too far. A grain of truth underlies the phrases of the Wagnerites. Drama must indeed be the content of opera. A series of effective pictures not connected to one another by the common action of a plot which gradually unfolds is not yet an opera: and a complete *laisser-aller* here is just as injurious as stiff purism.[73]

Laroche did not tread lightly around the most divisive issues of the day. He bluntly degraded the progressive nationalists through his negation of Serov and scoffed at the idea of a composer developing into a master with no training in his art form. He voiced support of Rubinstein and the Conservatory, and bolstered Glinka as the most suitable example of a Russian national composer, mocking their praise of Offenbach as a nationalist (a German composer who adopted Parisian style in his operas, where he was most popular). If not clear enough, Laroche closed his article with praise of Wagner's technical training as contribution to his mastery:

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[71] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 89.
[72] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 90.
[73] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 159.

> We conclude our little article with the wish that the public should not accept as one and the same thing, as an inseparable whole, Wagnerism – that is a broad and free tendency in music applied to ideas and to the general progress of the arts – and hostility to every objective and special theory in art. Not a single autodidact however gifted, not a single youth who all of a sudden imagined himself wiser than all good and bad conservatoires, can turn himself into a true, profound Wagnerian – and it is the education of such immature adherents that Mr. Serov seeks, albeit in vain. [74]

Laroche's technical training in musical institutes outside of Russia influenced his particularly adamant position on the important of counterpoint skills, and compositional mastery as a part of what should be included in the musical representation of Russian nationalism. His boldness in journalism advanced the field of music criticism, blurring lines between nationalist guidelines.

In a similar vein and generation, Mikhail Ivanov (1849-1927) received Western musical training, a year at the Moscow Conservatory where he studied composition with Chaikovsky, and piano lessons with Dubuque, as well as in Rome where he associated with Liszt and his circle of students and admirers (though those associated with Liszt were generally considered liberals, not conservatives). Returning to St. Petersburg in 1879, Ivanov became an editor to the music journal *Voskresnyĭ listok muzyki i obiavienia* (*Sunday Sheet Music and Announcements*), and contributor to multiple journals. In 1880, Ivanov accepted a permanent position as music critic for *Novoe vremia* (*New Era*), for which he regularly published until 1918. Ivanov also contributed a history of music in Russia *Istoriyi muzykalnovo razvitiia v Rossiĭ* (*The History of the Development of Music in Russia,* St. Petersburg, 1910–12), articles on Italian literature, and translated Hanslick's *Vom Musikallsch-Schönen* (*On Musical Beauty*) and Nohl's *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Kammermusik* (*The Historical Development of Chamber Music*) into Russian.[75]

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[74] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 91.
[75] Jennifer Spencer, "Ivanov, Mikhail Mikhaylovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/13992, accessed 20 November 2016.

One such example of Ivanov's conservativeness was the criticism of Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *Noch' pered Rozhdestvom* (*Christmas Eve*). In his 1895 article, "'*Noch' pered Rozdestvom*'. Muzykalnie zemtski" ("Christmas Eve. Musical Notes") in *Novoe vremia* (*New Era*) Ivanov decried Korsakov's departure from the original text of Gogol in the libretto, the colorlessness of the music, though praising the performance as a whole.[76] In 1887, Ivanov reviewed Chaikovsky's new opera *Charodeĭka* (*The Enchantress,* 1887) with a respectful assessment of the composer's skill and reputation:

> *The Enchantress* represents the work of a major talent including, besides vocal numbers, very many pages and separate episodes which are worthwhile and, in themselves, interesting to study… Perhaps it will add nothing to the already established reputation of its composer, nor will it become as popular as *Onegin*, but it will always encounter sympathy from persons of developed taste who are capable of turning their attention to individual details and of appreciating the talent with which the composer has invested them.[77]

Like many of the more conservative Russian musicians, Ivanov's Western musical training prompted his favor for foreign techniques and thus resistance to the Balakirev circle. While sharing the conservative values on composition and training in Russia as many in this group, agreement was lacking on the issue of Wagner. Ivanov, for example, held extremely conservative musical views, and he led a vigorous campaigned against the performance of Wagner's works in the pages of the reactionary newspaper *Novoe vremia* (*New Era*).[78]

Following what had become a receptive audience to the performances of Wagner's *Ring Cycle* operas in the year 1900, Ivanov "predictably led 'the artillery attack on Wagner' afterwards, although his tirades were now becoming ever more ludicrous and anachronistic in the

[76] Seaman, *Nikolay Andreevich Rimsky-Korsakov: A Research and Information Guide*, 106.
[77] David Brown, *Tchaikovsky. The Final Years, 1885-1893*, vol. IV (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991), 32.
[78] Rosamund Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 79.

light of public opinion,"[79] which had become more favorable of Wagner. Written to be released alongside the performances of the *Ring*, Ivanov put out a lengthy article in *Novoe vremia* (*New Era*) about Nietzsche and Wagner. "Although it purported to discuss Nietzsche's attitude to Wagner, the article was in actuality merely a vehicle for Ivanov to lambast Wagner once again, this time for his 'self-satisfied egoism', 'arrogance and self-deception.'" [80] Ivanov even went as far as to call the Mariinsky Theatre "a 'heathen temple,' to which sacrifices had been brought to the 'idol' Richard Wagner."[81] Despite his occasionally fiery attacks, Ivanov's writing on classical forms and music history, as well as translations of landmark musical texts furthered the field of Russian musicology.

Alexander Famintsyn (1841-1896) entered the St. Petersburg musical community heavily steeped in the German tradition, following his training at the Leipzig Conservatory under Hauptmann, Richter, and Riedel. Famintsyn held notable titles in the St. Petersburg musical circles, as professor of music history and aesthetics at the conservatory (1865-1872), the secretary to the directorate of the Russian Musical Society (1870-1880), and editor of the periodical *Muzykalnyĭ sezon* (*Musical Season*) from 1869 to 1871. As a historian and critic, Famintsyn contributed to other journals such as *Muzykalnyĭ listok* (*Musical Leaf*), and published scholarly texts on Russian musical traditions including the manifestation of ancient Indo-Chinese scale in Russian folk melodies, *Skomorokhi*[82] in Russia, the *gusli*, the *domra,* and related Russian musical instruments.[83]

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[79] Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, 89.
[80] Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, 89.
[81] Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, 89.
[82] *Skomorohki* is an Old East Slavic term for medieval East Slavic nomadic actors, who could also sing, dance, play musical instruments, and compose for their musical and dramatic performances.
[83] Gerald Abraham, "Famintsïn, Aleksandr Sergeyevich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/09279, accessed 10 December 2016.

A staunch supporter of the conservatory and musical education system developing in Europe and Russia, Famintsyn clashed both professionally and personally with his rival critic Stasov. Ideologically polarized, the two disagreed on the fundamental expression of national character. Personally, these two men fought bitterly in public. In an 1869 article and its counter-response, Stasov accused Famintsyn of lying. "This prompted Famintsyn to file a libel suit against Stasov, the first musical court case in Russia."[84] The court sentenced Stasov to a fine of 25 rubles and house arrest for seven days for the use of abusive language in the press, disregarding any basis for defamation of character. Regardless of his professional conflicts, Famintsyn augmented Russian scholarship on music among the burgeoning field of musicology in Russia.

Employing a more musicological approach to his criticism, Ivan Lipaev (1865-1946) did extensive research on the folk music of Russian Jews; although he was not Jewish, his intense interest led him to publish the first ethnographic study of klezmer music in any language. With training at the Moscow Conservatory, Lipaev worked as an orchestral violinist and trombonist, and later as a teacher of music history in Moscow. Beginning his journalistic career in 1885, Lipaev published in the newspapers and magazines *Russkiĭ vedomosti* (*Russian Bulletin*), *Novosti dnia* (*News of the Day*), *Teatr i zhizn* (*Theater and Life*), *Russkiĭ listok* (*Russian Leaflet*), *Teatr izvestia* (*Theater News*), *Teatral* (*Theater-Goer*), *Teatr i iskusstvo* (*Theater and Art*), *Muzyka i zhizn'* (*Music and Life*), *Muzykalnyĭ sovremennik*, (*Musical Contemporary*), *Saratovskiĭ listok* (*Sarastov Leaf*), and most regularly in *Novosti sezona* (*News of the Season*) and *Russkaia muzykalnaia gazeta* (*Russian Musical Gazette*). He was the publisher and editor of *Muzykalnyĭ truzhenik* (*Musical Worker*, 1906-1910) and *Orkestr* (*Orchestra*, 1910-1912).

[84] Yuri Olkhovsky, *Vladimir Stasov and Russian National Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 102.

Lipaev reveals his stance in *Novosti sezona* (*News of the Season*) on the position of Russian nationalism in music in reflection of the reception of Musorgsky's and Cui's operas outside of Russia:

> While lectures on Musorgsky are delivered in Paris and Cui's operas are staged in Brussels, the majority of our citizens don't even suspect how much sympathy Russian composers inspire abroad. Before we open our eyes and awaken from hibernation, the verdict is already in over there, and we are left only to wonder how come we've never thought of it before. And in the meantime, a composer endures and suffers so much that the world grows dark to him, his inspiration grows cold, and the years lead him to his grave. It happened to Glinka; it happened to Dargomyzhsky. And later, the same fate awaited all those who cherished the ideals of those musical geniuses and followed in their footsteps, proving that the New Russian School of musical composition is not a bizarre, farcical invention, but a valuable national cause.[85]

Amidst the media battle about Russian national opera, Lipaev lobbied for the national repertory to be performed at the private theater established in 1885 by Savva Mamontov in Moscow:

> We should note that in Moscow, according to the most respected sources, Russian opera is desirable, and would inspire strong sympathy. Moreover, the majority of the public is inclined to demand it. If the directorate responds to this, it will profit, if not – then its activity would go against public opinion, and this in itself will not end well. It would be strange to adopt an idea of exclusivity, that is, that we insist only upon this one thing – give us only Russian opera. We simply view this as the main goal of the Private Opera, with no desire at all to lessen the significance of staging model examples of Western European operatic music. But Russian opera should come above all else.[86]

In the midst of his studies and publications on Jewish music, Lipaev argues that Jewish music can be considered as another national music represented in Russia:

> I think that no one would deny the idea that the Jewish people played an enormous role in the history of music. This began with the Psalms of David and finally resulted in the music of Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer. But without becoming buried in the past, we can confirm our words at every step. We can point to many among the composers, conductors, to many types of virtuosi. But this will not serve well our present study, so let us turn to our contemporary life as it is reflected in the Jewish orchestras.[87]

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[85] Olga Haldey, *Mamontov's Private Opera: The Search for Modernism in Russian Theater* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010), 225.
[86] Haldey, *Mamontov's Private Opera: The Search for Modernism in Russian Theater*, 229.
[87] Zev Feldman, *Klezmer: Music, History and Memory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 119.

Lipaev's training at the Moscow Conservatory, combined with his research on Jewish folk music automatically forced Lipaev out of the conservative camp, though it seems his philosophies of nationalism and support of Russian music aligned closely with them. His prolific contribution to the historical evidence on klezmer music, along with other Russian subjects added to the musicological field in Russia and later studies of culture in Russian music.

Though generationally associating with the modern wave of composers, Nikolai Medtner (1875-1951) was "among the most conservative musical thinkers of the day."[88] Taking part in the musical soirées of Sergei Taneev in Moscow, Medtner contributed a substantial amount of music to the piano repertoire, and his performance skills on the piano were highly regarded by his contemporaries. Having studied at the Moscow Conservatory, a contemporary of Sergei Rachmaninoff and Alexander Skriabin, he similarly revered the Russian musical traditions, specializing in romantic concertos like his counterpart Rachmaninoff.[89] Medtner adhered to the hegemony of the Germanic classical tradition. The most obvious manifestation of the German tradition in Medtner's output is his collection of over 100 songs, in the style of the German romantic lieder. His settings fittingly use texts by Goethe and Pushkin. Boris Gasparov described the occurrence of these texts as a sign of reverence from Medtner: "His songs revisit virtually all the hackneyed subjects of musical Pushkiniana. Moreover, Medtner's musical discourse conspicuously displays evident debts to his predecessors."[90]

The shared conservative perspectives on music and art of the brothers Nikolai and Emilii Medtner (1872-1936) had a combined impact on the field through Nikolai's compositions and Emilii's critical writing. The Medtner brothers similarly believed that true musical genius

[88] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*, 781.
[89] Richard Taruskin, *Russian Music at Home and Abroad: New Essays* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016), 125.
[90] Gasparov, "*Pushkin in Music*," 170.

"followed 'eternal' musical laws… rejecting the chimera of historical progress."[91] They harshly condemned modernistic compositions, viewing them as the expression of all that was tumultuous in modern society: selfish individualism, chaos, and disunity.

Turning to the accusations of Russianness, still debated into the turn of the century, Medtner was criticized as out of place not only for his "outdated" musical tastes, but also for his ethnic displacement with German descent. Mitchell described that these controveries among others "implicitly suggested that owing to his ethnic heritage, Medtner could never be a genuine member of Russian culture – a clear expression of an ethnic-national understanding of Russian identity that foreshadowed wartime travails."[92] Grigory Prokofiev emphasized Nikolai's Germanic creative heritage as the reason for the failure to blend "Slavic" and "German" temperaments in his music: "Although Medtner finished the Moscow Conservatory and lives almost all the time in Russia, there is nothing Russian in his musical works."[93] One example, a review by the music critic Karatygin, labelled Nikolai's music as "without soul." [94] Boris Popov similarly voiced a harsh analysis of Nikolai's music based on ethnic features: "In Medtner… there is too much German blood." [95] However, with a following of those involved in the Symbolist movement, Nikolai Medtner was viewed by them as the "true claimant to the lyre of Orpheus, who would mend the divisions of Russian society and life through his music."[96]

In response to the negative assessment of Nikolai's work, Emilii spoke out against the Germanophobia present in the Russian press. Frustrated with the limited treatment of music in the artistic press in the first decade of the twentieth century, Emilii Medtner insisted on public

[91] Rebecca Mitchell, *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 93.
[92] Mitchell, *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire*, 134.
[93] Mitchell, *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire*, 133.
[94] Mitchell, *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire*, 134.
[95] Mitchell, *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire*, 133.
[96] Mitchell, *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire*, 106.

debate over musical modernism as the key to solving the social and cultural difficulties in Russia at this time. Though he lamented that the journal apparently had no intention to expand its musical section, Emilii served as the primary music critic for *Zolotoe runo* (*The Golden Fleece*). This encouraged Emilii to write the book *Modernism and Music* (1907-1911), which he declared stemmed from "his 'certainty that the majority of specialists and amateurs were too easygoing toward the darkening of contemporary musical and, in part, of all artistic consciousness.'"[97]

After the closing of both *Zolotoe runo* and *Vesy* (*Scales*) in 1909, Emilii established his own publishing house named Musaget and representative journal, *Trudy i dni* (*Works and Days*). Regularly featuring sections dedicated to Wagner and Goethe, *Trudy i dni* acted as the center of Moscow's symbolist society until 1913.[98]

While disagreeing among themselves on numerous issues, the conservative critics and musicians were lumped together primarily for their opposition to the fervent ideals of the progressive camp. Most agreed that formal compositional training did not deter natural talent of a musician, rather enhanced their skills in order to capitalize on their innate abilities. The issue of nationalism at this time was not agreed upon within the conservative camp. A majority of professionals in the music profession expressed a desire for a Russian national style of some kind, but hardly found similar ground to agree on what characteristics best represented this identity. The cosmopolitan-trained ideologues did not resist the influence of outlying national styles. These in the conservative crowd were the most virulently condemned by the vocal progressives. The most conflicting of subjects was regarding the credibility and validity of the philosophies and music presented by Wagner. While some acknowledged the talent and training present in his compositions, many rejected his work for the intellectual disconnect they felt with

[97] Mitchell, *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire*, 112.
[98] Marsrow, "Contexts of Symbolist Music in Silver Age Russia, 1861-1917," 36.

the writings of Wagner, particularly the openly anti-Semitic views. Realizing, however, that this collective of writers was not a movement of its own, as is often the case in history, but rather a group acting in reaction to the progressive movement, which explains the variety of opinions.

Progressive Critics	
Mily Balakirev (1837-1910)	Nikolai Findeizen (1868–1928)
Vissarion Belinsky (1811-1848)	Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov (1859-1935)
Alexander Borodin (1833-1887)	Semën Kruglikov (1851-1910)
Vasily Botkin (1812-1869)	Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908)
Pyotr Chaikovsky (1840-1893)	Vladimir Stasov (1824-1906)
César Cui (1835–1918)	Ivan Turgenev (1818-1883)

Table 3-3: List of writers on music commonly labelled progressive.

Progressives Push the Boundaries

At the beginning of musical criticism, literary critics played a significant role, acting as both art, literary, and music reviewers, often considering the same aesthetic, philosophical, and critical issues in all areas. The literary critic Vissarion Belinsky (1811-1848) influenced the career of the poet and publisher Nikolai Nekrasov, and enjoyed a respected career as a critic and editor, and the "chief personality among the philosophical Left in the 1830s and 1840s."[99] Belinsky began publishing while still a student at Moscow University in 1829-1832. In 1839, Belinsky became

[99] Andrzej Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought from the Enlightenment to Marxism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1979), 121.

editor and contributing critic to two major literary magazines: *Otechestvennie zapiski* (*Notes of the Fatherland*), and *Sovremennik* (*Contemporary*). It was during this time Belinsky gained enormous authority among Russian readers and fellow writers.

Belinsky constantly faced an atmosphere of jealousy even from his circle of intellectual peers. Despite their disgust with the old class system of the imperial regime, Belinsky's position outside of the nobility as the son of a doctor caused regular conflicts. Belinsky seemed the most sensitive to the matter, quickly taking offense to anything he perceived as an insult. His colleague Turgenev described his sensitivity to these issues: "Belinsky knew how to hate – he was a good hater."[100] Regardless of the prescribed class distinctions, Belinsky earned respect as an author and critic. Received as an affront to the government system, Belinsky wrote a Schillerian tragic play attacking serfdom that resulted in his expulsion from the university, also winning him acclaim with his cohorts of similar political views. Belinsky excused his social standing as a weakness, instead immersing himself into the real world. By getting a working-class job he maintained that he possessed greater insight into the truth of man than his intellectual peers who had never had the need to work. Under the instruction of Bakunin, Belinsky was put in charge as the editor of the *Moskovskiĭ nabludatel* (*Moscow Observer*). Continuing his oppositional writing, Belinsky worked for the literary journal *Teleskop* (*Telescope*) in Moscow, known for its liberal agenda, which was shut down in 1836 for publishing the first of Chaadaev's "Philosophical Letters," a critical assessment of Russia's backwardness. However, Belinsky continued to win notoriety through his public attacks on conservative and orthodox Russian literature.[101] As a liberal critic and ideologist, Belinsky advocated that literature be socially conscious. From the influence of the German philosopher

[100] James Mark Leier, *Bakunin: The Creative Passion* (New York, NY: Thomas Dunne Books/St. Martin's Press, 2006), 67.
[101] Leier, *Bakunin: The Creative Passion*, 69-70.

Hegel, whom Belinsky admired and studied, "the emphases on realistic and objective art, its social universality and national specificity,"[102] formed the basis of Belinsky's philosophies on art.

Along with the other *Zapadnik* (Westernizers) such as Bakunin, Chaadaev, and Kireevsky, Belinsky believed that up to this time Russia had produced no real, original national art or literature of any kind, but that what had been created was merely borrowed and copied. Of highest importance to the philosophical ideals, the art and literature was not progressive. Leier summarized the philosophy of the Westernizers on modern culture: "It did not challenge the official ideas of Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality; on the contrary, they held, sanctioned culture was pressed into the service of conformity."[103] The other fundamental change in this group's pursuit of knowledge was the complete abandonment of religious faith as central to understanding the world. This was a primary difference between the Westernizers and the Slavophiles. Belinsky expressed his position on nationalism in 1838:

> The destiny of Russia is to adopt the elements not only of European life but also of the entire world… We Russians are heirs of the entire world… What is the exclusive aspect of every European nation, that we will take as our own.[104]

Stating the significance of Belinsky in formulating the principles that fundamentally led Russian criticism for the remaining nineteenth century into the revolutionary movement, Steven Cassady summarized Belinsky's effect on Russian life:

> By saying that literature and criticism spring form the same spirit, he has eliminated the distinction between them. By saying that both contain a subjective, critical reaction to

[102] Nicholas Rzhevsky, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Russian Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 95.
[103] Leier, *Bakunin: The Creative Passion*, 99-100.
[104] Richard Pipes, *Russian Conservatism and its Critics: A Study in Political Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 138.

> their historical moment, he has effectively eliminated the distinction between thought and action, between culture and politics, between life and art.[105]

As a critic active early in this century, it is difficult to evaluate what he may have said in response to the later movements of nationalism in art and music, or the debate over institutional training for artists. However, it is undeniable that Belinsky set the ideas in motion, along with the intellectuals in his circle that believed that Russia had yet to produce an original national art form. This idea expressed by several prominent writers of his time inspired the following generation of composers, and challenged them to develop something that represented or illustrated Russianness. The debate began on how to achieve such a dutiful task of portraying Russianness in art and music.

At the forefront of music journalism coming of age in Russia, Vasily Botkin (1812-1869) began writing on music for journals and newspapers such as *Teleskop* (*Telescope*) and *Moskovskiĭ nabludatel* (*Moscow Observer*) in the 1830s. As an independently financed merchant in Moscow, Botkin enabled himself the freedom of intellectual activities unhindered by financial obligations. He published detailed studies on German and Russian literature, Italian and German music, and Italian opera in St. Petersburg. These and other articles appeared in the journals *Otechestvennyie zapiski* (*Notes of the Fatherland*) and *Sovremennik* (*Contemporary*). Botkin associated himself with the Westernizers such as Bakunin, Katkov, Stankevich, Granovsky, Belinsky, Herzen, and Turgenev. The gifted writer was an active member of the intelligentsia society, the Circle of Sympathizers with Western Ideas. These Russian thinkers opposed the Slavophiles and believed that Russia should absorb and adopt progressive European ideas into all

[105] Steven Cassedy and Paul Avrich, *To the Other Shore: The Russian Jewish Intellectuals Who Came to America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 18.

aspects of life.[106] Botkin argued for the independence of art from ideology and insisted on artistic autonomy.

Through his friendship with Belinsky and the other members of the literary-philosophical circles in Moscow, Botkin took part in political debates and Hegelian philosophies with the critics Pavel Annenkov (1813-1887), Apollon Grigorev (1822-1864), and Alexander Druzhinin (1824-1864), and author Afanasy Fet (1820-1892). The chief interest of this circle lay in aesthetic issues of literature, art, and music. The most divisive buzzword used by the group, they proposed that all art forms should be denounced of being "didactic" in nature, as teaching tools, rather than as poetic art forms of free expression.[107] This aesthetic conviction could have landed them on the side of the nationalists who encouraged freely composed musical works void of the prescribed restraints of the Western formal training, had they been in the midst of this discussion only 20 or so years later. In principle, Botkin and his fellow critics may have found the practice of programmatic music as teetering towards didacticism, though their leanings towards realism would have likely led them to prefer programmatic versus absolute music. However, in their era of debate the context of such discussions led these intellectuals to side on the emphasis of opera as the most effective means for didactic musical settings. Opera was meant to entertain, not project a deep moral lesson (from the Italian and French traditions popular at this time), and was generally accessible artistically to the average listener to comprehend.

These considerations make for an interesting evaluation in the change of the social definition of progressives and nationals, and how this shifted over the course of only thirty years. The Belinsky circle, including Botkin, considered themselves the progressive nationalists, who

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[106] Geoffrey Norris, "Botkin, Vasily Petrovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/03682, accessed 8 January 2017.

[107] Charles A. Moser, *Esthetics as Nightmare: Russian Literary Theory, 1855-1870* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 106.

opposed serfdom, and antagonized political leadership. Musically, however, they were proponents of Western music, granted, prior to the establishment of an independent Russian school of musicians. Their definition of nationalism meant that Western art could be used to further the advancement of Russian education, morality, and social standards.

A unique combination of intelligentsia, westernizer, and non-noble, Belinsky is credited with not only "discovering some of the greatest nineteenth-century writers but also for explaining to them, both subtly and not so subtly, what their works *should* be saying."[108] He is credited with establishing the canon of Russian literature with his instinct for the writers and their gifts, including Pushkin, Gogol, Lermontov, Turgenev, Goncharov, and Dostoevsky. As a description of Gogol's fiction, Belinsky coined the term "Natural School," which defined the untainted natural depiction of the plight of the urban poor. This was adapted in concept by the following generation of nationalists in music. Particularly debated in the choruses of Russian operas, and the use of folk songs in the works of the New Russian School, the definition of what was natural or thus authentic regarding lower class and peasant citizens began with Belinsky's terminology. The most apparent of importance from the Belinsky legacy was the establishment of the Russian literature canon, which would be adapted into a vast array of operatic, programmatic, and vocal works by Russian composers for the next century.

Ivan Turgenev (1818-1883) produced an array of travel articles, reviews of literature, music, and art, cultural commentary, journalistic reporting, sketches, and reminiscences of famous peers. He contributed to a diverse mixture of publications such as the *Russkiĭ vestnik* (*Russian Herald*), *Vestnik Europy* (*Herald of Europe*), *Sovremennik* (*Contemporary*), *Novoe vremia* (*New Era*), *St. Peterburg vedomosti* (*St. Petersburg Bulletin*), *Nedelia* (*Weekly*), *Moskovskiĭ vestnik* (*Moscow Herald*), and the *Zhurnal okhoty i konnozavodstva* (*Hunter's and*

[108] Rzhevsky, *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Russian Culture*, 181.

Horseman's Journal). Turgenev also studied Hegel's teaching, and travelled to Berlin to attend Hegel's lectures. His fluency in Russian, French, and German, and knowledge of English and Italian enabled his notable ability to mediate between Western and Russian musicians. For example, Turgenev introduced the music of Gounod to Russia, and through his friendship with the opera singer Pauline Viardot, made more Russian music known in the West. His success in Europe as a novelist propelled him into positions of influence among cultural circles outside of Russia. An enthusiastic visitor to the opera, Turgenev's taste included Rossini over Verdi, with new excitement arising in the late 1840s about the music of Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, and Gounod. During his residency in Paris, Turgenev also met and established good terms with the Russian music critics Melgunov and Prince Orlov, whom he would encounter later after his return to Russia.

Turgenev's musical tastes leaned towards conservative works like that of Chaikovsky, though he worked to publicize the work of all Russian musicians travelling abroad, including the nationalist school.[109] For instance, Turgenev worked with Louis Viardot (husband of Pauline Viardot) to translate the Pushkin dramas the *Stone Guest* and *Mozart and Salieri* into French.[110] These dramas once adapted into operas by Russian musicians were thus accessible to non-Russian audiences.

Turgenev's political and social leanings are generally categorized as liberal, while sympathizing with cultures in Western Europe. Also labeled a realist, Turgenev attacked nearly all aspects of contemporary Russia, focusing mostly on official conservatives and the social position of the aristocracy. Through his writing, Turgenev expressed his sympathy for the

[109] April Fitzlyon, "Turgenev, Ivan Sergeyevich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/28600, accessed 28 November 2016.
[110] Mark Everist, *Mozart's Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012), 179.

oppressed classes with the practical concerns of economic reform as necessary for the achievement of any progress in Russia. Having managed his own estate more progressively than most, when the eventual Emancipation came in Russia, "the overjoyed Turgenev shed tears at the commemorative service – albeit in Paris! He was later bitterly disappointed that the Reforms had brought so little real change, but maintained an active, very *practical* interest in the possibility of further changes."[111] Turgenev's beliefs as a liberal Westernizer defined progress as a future with greater Europeanization. This set of beliefs combined with his attachment to Western ideals placed him in dissension between the intellectuals in the 1880s. Though other writers described versions of tolerant liberalism, Turgenev "succeeded in quarrelling seriously with almost every other writer of significance of the period."[112]

Even alongside the Russian literary giants Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Chekov, Turgenev received the first foreign readership and popularity outside of Russia. The first translation of his work appeared in 1855, establishing his international fame much before his peers who were not widely read and popular until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Because of his lack of partisanship among the intellectual camps, Turgenev received reproach from fellow critics. For example, Apollon Grigorev "complained that Ivan Turgenev set no straight course and consequently was 'subject to all winds, the stirrings of a breeze' and its gossamer waftings."[113] Turgenev, however, generally stood by his principles even as he faced his own misery at the hands of the government. His works were heavily censored in the 1840s and 1850s, though he suffered less than other writers of his generation, likely due to his international reputation.[114] Turgenev spent a month in prison followed by a year in "exile" on his estate in 1852 after the

[111] Joe Andrew, *Russian Writers and Society in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1982), 20.
[112] Andrew, *Russian Writers and Society in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, 24.
[113] Tracy Chevalier, *Encyclopedia of the Essay* (London, UK; Chicago, IL: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997), 858.
[114] Andrew, *Russian Writers and Society in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, 27.

publication of *A Hunter's Notes*, a collection of stories that portrayed the horrid conditions of serfdom and disparaged the life of the landed gentry.[115] Over the course of Turgenev's writings, one can see the progression of intellectual shifts as reflective of the revolutionary failures of 1848-1849: "Turgenev's work epitomized the Russian existential crisis as the idealism of the 1840s turned to the nihilism of the 1860s."[116]

Discussed previously in relation to Serov, Vladimir Stasov (1824-1906) is one of the most highly researched critics of this era. He studied in St. Petersburg alongside Serov and Chaikovsky, though he entered civil service immediately following his education. He secured employment at the Imperial Public Library in 1856, and from 1872 until his death, he was in charge of the department of Fine Arts. In these positions, Stasov enjoyed an ideal setting for his own research, a prolific output of writing, and a wealth of knowledge about the arts. Contributing as many as 402 articles over a 40-year span, Stasov published in *St. Petersburgskie vedomosti* (*St. Petersburg Bulletin*), *Otechestvennie zapiski* (*Notes of the Fatherland*), *Russkiĭ vestnik* (*Russian Herald*), *Sovremennik* (*Contemporary*), *Novoe vremia* (*New Era*), *Severnyi vestnik* (*Northern Herald*), *Iskusstvo i khudozhestvennaia promyshlennost* (*Art and the Art Industry*); the minor magazines, *Golos* (*Voice*), and *Vestnik Evropy* (*European Herald*); and specialty publications such as *Izvestia Imperatorskogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* (*Proceedings of the Imperial Archaeological Society*), and *Khudozhestvennye novosti* (*Artistic News*).[117] Serov and Stasov emerged as public critics simultaneously with the influential author Dostoevsky. Alongside the realists in both painting and literature, this generation of critics established themselves with a polemic urgency, new to the field of music criticism.

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[115] Ivan Sergeevich Turgenev et al., *A Month in the Country: A Comedy in Five Acts* (New York, NY: Theatre Communications Group, 2015), ii-iii.
[116] Stephen C. Downes, *Music and Decadence in European Modernism: The Case of Central and Eastern Europe* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 70.
[117] Matsui Yasuhiro, *Obshchestvennost and Civic Agency in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia: Interface between State and Society* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 18. Table 1.1.

The work of the older critic Belinsky greatly influenced the young, impassioned Stasov. Belinsky expressed his perspective that art should reflect social reality, and should describe nationality as a way to allow people (Russians) to think about their future and their own country. Stasov stated his admiration for Belinsky during his school days:

> I remember how hungrily and eagerly we rushed to read the latest issues of this magazine … Belinsky was indeed our teacher. No classes, courses, coursework or examinations did better for our education and development than Belinsky did alone by his articles every month.[118]

Stasov summarized his doctrinal beliefs on national identity and the characteristic elements in art in three major essays: "Twenty Five Years of Russian Art" (1882-1883), "The Impediments to New Russian Art" (1885), and "Arts in the Nineteenth Century" (1901). Following in the advancement of Belinsky's ideas, Stasov praised the realistic images of the Russian landscape, people, and history as the best representation of traditional folk culture. Among his vast knowledge of art from many nations and traditions, Stasov was known for championing Russian artists. He successfully deemed many artists worthy of producing what he considered the first works of artistic importance in Russia, compared to nations with much longer established national traditions. Through his support in the press, inspiration for works, and personal encouragement, Stasov advocated for the painters Repin, Kramskoy, and Vereshchagin, and the sculptor Antokolsky, and similarly lent encouragement to Gorky, Chaliapin, and Skriabin, and actively promoted the musicians represented by the Balakirev circle.[119] Stasov similarly promoted the place of women in the arts. In an 1889 review of an exhibition of works by students of St. Petersburg's school of applied arts, the critic emphasized growing attention for

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[118] Yasuhiro, *Obshchestvennost and Civic Agency in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia: Interface between State and Society*, 19.

[119] James Stuart Campbell, "Stasov, Vladimir Vasil′yevich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/26573, accessed 12 December 2016.

this type of ability in Russia and the success of women in these artistic fields. A snippet of Stasov's review shows his support in the women's changing status: "In the class of painting on porcelain, once again women distinguish themselves."[120]

An ardent student of art history, a fan of realism, and advocate of nationalism, Stasov managed to remain more credible than his cohort Balakirev, who was more aggressive with his personal agenda. Though in his criticism of art, Stasov was regularly accused of one-sidedness, and while attempting to provide a balanced analysis his sympathy or distaste was obvious.[121] Stasov's perspective on Russian nationalism excluded the priority of academic training, but included the "oriental element" as necessary in Russian characteristics. Reflecting this in his 1883 essay, Stasov wrote:

> The conservatories have not furthered our musical culture; they have merely produced a number of musical artisans who have little to do with art, are infected with conservatory tastes and have a very poor understanding of music. They are unable to distinguish between the most banal, hackneyed music and the most original; in fact, they invariably prefer the former. And now, this musical infection is spreading all over Russia. Has anything really been gained by this, has it really been beneficial?[122]

A fervid apostle of Russian nationalism, Stasov also displayed a long-standing interest in Jewish culture, especially concerning questions of Jewish national art. Not only for ethnic Russians, but for the Jewish characteristics of nationalism, Stasov encouraged the idea of *vostochnost*, the "Eastern" or "Oriental" themes as centrally representative. His liberal political leanings stemmed "from his imperial vision of Russian culture, according to which the empire's minorities needed to develop their own cultural traditions for the glory of Russia."[123] This can be seen as directly opposed to the Russification efforts, and limitations of Jewish quotas in Russia's cities and

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[120] Helena Goscilo and Beth Holmgren, *Russia-Women-Culture* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), 347.
[121] Carol Adlam and Juliet Simpson, *Critical Exchange: Art Criticism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Russia and Western Europe* (New York, NY: P. Lang, 2008), 219.
[122] Marsrow, "Contexts of Symbolist Music in Silver Age Russia, 1861-1917," 11-12.
[123] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire*, 73.

schools occurring during his lifetime. Stasov's aggressive rhetoric reached artistic circles from traditional to progressive to modernist without oversight. His writing aimed "to attack in the press any artistic manifestation alien to his principles, particularly that which he perceived as an expression of the notion of 'art for art's sake' and 'decadence.'"[124]

Still underrated as an art critic, Stasov has received more attention in Western scholarship for his contribution to Russian musical culture. Stasov, like many in the progressive camp, believed fervently that the Academy of Arts in the same fashion as the Conservatory of Music was "a cage and the artists who rejoined this bastion of officialdom with 'brainless canaries,' motivated not by a desire to teach but by a lust for power, by ambition, by conceit and even by herd instinct."[125] His influence as an art critic is said to have determined public opinion about much of the new art in Russia, to the magnitude to be expressed that "the Russian intelligentsia perceived art through the eyes and the mind of Stasov."[126]

His utilitarian aesthetic expressed the utilization of music and arts as agencies to emancipate a nation's people, possible through his instruction of "a curious mix of strictly secular Enlightenment doctrines and Slavophile utopianism."[127] On paper, Stasov fiercely opposed new movements in Russian art with any similarities to European movements, and self-righteously defended his opinions in the press. Witnesses say that in his private life he was a friendly, open-hearted man with a large social network that he infected with his enthusiasm.[128]

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[124] Adlam and Simpson, *Critical Exchange: Art Criticism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Russia and Western Europe*, 207.
[125] Adlam and Simpson, *Critical Exchange: Art Criticism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Russia and Western Europe*, 217.
[126] Adlam and Simpson, *Critical Exchange: Art Criticism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Russia and Western Europe*, 207.
[127] Sjeng Scheijen, *Diaghilev: A Life* (Oxford, UK; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 90.
[128] Scheijen, *Diaghilev: A Life*, 90.

The reflection by Stasov articulated his definition of self and the authentic version of Russian music as represented by the performance of the Free Music School:

> Little by little not only Russian solo singers, but the Russian chorus and orchestra as well, developed their own unique manner and character, which we ourselves do not always recognize due to our habitual closeness to them, but which undoubtedly are manifest… That which is 'our own' in the orchestra and chorus developed little by little from the time of Glinka and Dargomyzhsky, and was preserved to the greatest degree and most authentically in the performance of the Free Musical School.[129]

Stasov's high-volume output of writings about music ardently advocated for the progressive movement, though his work is still understudied in comparison to his counterpart Serov.

Extremely controversial even within each camp, Wagner's compositions initially received silence in response from the Mighty Handful. However, with the realization that Wagner would not soon be fading from public interest, "a smear campaign began in earnest, with Stasov leading the charge."[130] This put Serov in the line of fire as one of Wagner's most earnest supporters and allies. Stasov published regularly severe criticism of both Wagner and Serov's allegiance to Wagner. It was Serov who persuaded the Imperial Theatre Directorate in 1860 to officially invite Wagner to Russia for performances at the Mariinsky Theater in St. Petersburg. Attacks against Wagner included the audacity of his conducting facing the orchestra, and his arrogance in programming his works alongside those of Beethoven. With performances of many of Wagner's operas, the *Ring Cycle* first took place in 1889 in its full form. This event seemed to be the pivotal point when enthusiasm for Wagnerian music, writing, and philosophies blossomed.[131]

Evidence of this can be witnessed on the pages of the music journal, *Russkaia muzykalnaia gazeta* (*Russian Musical Gazette - RMG*), founded in 1894. In 1898 alone, the *RMG*

[129] Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, 118.
[130] Marsrow, "Contexts of Symbolist Music in Silver Age Russia, 1861-1917," 29.
[131] Marsrow, "Contexts of Symbolist Music in Silver Age Russia, 1861-1917," 32.

covered 31 performances of Wagner's operas, openly supporting all things Wagnerian, and criticizing the conservative policies of the Imperial Theatres Directorate. For these performances, the journal published introductions to upcoming operas to help educate the public, thus improving the reception, though the works were not always well understood. It was not until 1899 with a new Directorate of the Imperial Theatres, that Wagner's works were fully accepted. Sergei Volkonsky aimed to revive the outdated status of the theaters' repertoire, openly supporting the works of Wagner.[132] With the Mariinsky Theater's commitment in 1907 to perform the *Ring Cycle* annually, and Moscow's Bolshoi Theater's increased quota of Wagner performances in 1911-1912, "Wagnerism had become fully-fledged *Wagnerovshchina*."[133]

Though not a prolific journalist, Mily Balakirev (1837-1910) had a significant impact on the progressive camp of musicians, particularly from his position on nationalism and musical education. He openly and publicly opposed the system of academic training that he believed only stifled and swayed the natural talents and purity of the national characteristics engrained into a composer. As a mentor and compositional teacher to many young composers, Balakirev emphasized the expression of "otherness" from European culture to be incorporated into musical idioms, thus the connoisseurship of orientalism in Russian music. Despite having no institutional training, Balakirev led the competing institution (RMS) to the Conservatory in St. Petersburg during the years 1868-1874 and 1881-1910. He succeeded his professional opponent Anton Rubinstein as the conductor of orchestral concerts for the RMS for two years (1867-1869), and served as the musical director of the Imperial Court Chapel from 1883 until 1894. Though a nominal figure in the historical narrative of Russian music as the eldest leader, spiritual guru, and

[132] Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, 63-65.
[133] Marsrow, "Contexts of Symbolist Music in Silver Age Russia, 1861-1917," 34. *Wagnerovshchina* is equivalent to the English term "Wagnerianism."

zealot of Russianness of the nineteenth-century, Balakirev "was not a consistently prominent figure in the musical world," in part due to personal crises and conflicts with fellow musicians.[134]

In his public writing, Balakirev chose to vehemently further his agenda at the expense of his contemporaries: "Balakirev carried out public polemics in an extremely malicious anti-Semitic tone, since he believed that Rubinstein's interests were inherently German and Jewish, and thus alien to Russian national identity."[135] Balakirev suffered a mental and spiritual crisis (1871) that led to fanaticism as a superstitious Orthodox Christian, politically progressing towards "ultranationalism and xenophobic chauvinism."[136] This transformation strained his relationships with the surviving members of his earlier circle.

While occupied with his career as a doctor and chemist, Alexander Borodin (1833-1887) successfully composed orchestral works that received fame in and outside of Russia during his lifetime. Best known for his symphonies, which the Kuchka referred to as the most representative symphonies of national origin, especially because of their reference to remote times, the primitive pagan Rus'. Most had a program to accompany each symphonic movement, though not all did–the Kuchka believed that the music itself expressed the scenes so vividly that they were unnecessary. Borodin wrote several critical articles about the performances of the Russian Musical Society and the Free Music School in the *Sankt-Petersburgskie vedomosti* (*St. Petersburg Bulletin*, 1868-1869). Borodin expressed his exhaustion with the level of division his musical circle was causing and the resulting ineptitude of their musical output, which he voiced in a letter to Balakirev:

> As far as I am concerned, I am disappointed in our fraternity . . . Each one strives to shrink to a Frenchman or an Englishman, to fawn before the judgment of Europe. There

[134] Justin Wintle, *New Makers of Modern Culture* (London, UK: Routledge, 2007), 87.
[135] Alexander J. Motyl, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Burlington, MA: Elsevier, 2000), 38.
[136] Motyl, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, 2, 39.

> is not the smallest display of national independence, rather, there is a complete lack of individuality.[137]

In reaction to the Westernizers, Borodin described the growing popularity and love of the Russian people received by the Kuchka in a letter to his wife:

> Balakirev and all of the group were defamed and not spared the most foul swearing and the most viele [*sic*] slander. Three of the season's numbers were exclusively dedicated to the torrent against Miliĭ [Balakirev. – A.]. But, as if to spite them, Miliĭ's reception in each concert was warmer and warmer. And today the public simply received Miliĭ enthusiastically and called for him many times after "Elizaveta", after "Sadko", and after the symphony. This reception serves as the best answer to the insults and slanders of obscurants and the Mikhailovskiĭ Palace with its vile minions.[138]

Clearly a supporter and advocate of the Kuchka and the overall ideologies of the nationalist movement, Borodin also technically interrogated the works of the Balakirev circle, and their musical representations of Russianness. He openly expressed his favor for the music of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schumann, the influence of which is apparent in his use of classical instrumental forms. The Kuchka did not, however, expel him from their circle for these preferences. Though Borodin did not publish extensively in writing about his nationalistic views, his choices of text for his songs and operas of Russian origin expose agreement and adherence to some part of the ideology of the Kuchkists. However, Borodin wrote the most symphonic and chamber works of the Kuchka, turning away from the dependency on text as necessary for the musical representation of identity. Perhaps Borodin felt less concerned about devotion to the progressive ideals than he did using his talent to write in the form of absolute music; however, that did associate his instrumental works with the German tradition. In this way, Borodin's resolve to write music outside of the contemporary social contingencies of composers of his

[137] N. A. Figurovskii and Yu. I. Solov'ev, *Aleksandr Porfir'evich Borodin: A Chemist's Biography* (Berlin, DE: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 1988), 58.
[138] Figurovskii and Solov'ev, *Aleksandr Porfir'evich Borodin: A Chemist's Biography*, 57.

generations opened doors for later modernists who evaded the programmatic dependency of the progressive nationalists who came before them.

Pyotr Chaikovsky (1840-1893) waded through a mixture of reactions by the various musical camps of his generation. Because he trained in the Western-oriented conservatory, he was never fully accepted into the contemporary nationalist movement, mostly the members of the Kuchka. While ambivalently respecting him as a musician, they did not include him in their circle. Beyond his formal education, Chaikovsky found himself travelling abroad for his professional duties as a music critic from 1867 to 1878. This time exposed him to a range of contemporary music, developing his own style as a reconciliation of the native music of his childhood, with modern techniques and aesthetics.

As a critic, Chaikovsky contributed some 60 pieces mostly in the form of reviews to the Moscow journals *Sovremennaia letopis* (*Contemporary Chronicle*) and *Russkie vedomosti* (*Russian Bulletin*). Additionally, Chaikovsky also wrote theoretical essays and a plethora of letters that give insight into his personal life. His career as a musical writer came from the necessity for work, which he regarded as more of an interruption to his creative life than as its own expressive process. Once he was financially able to cease writing, he did so gladly. Chaikovsky evinced a reserved and factual reporting style of events in his publications.

Concert life in Moscow in the 1860s and 1870s included a great deal of European music, with works by Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Handel, Chopin, Schumann, and Brahms. Chaikovsky was an adoring fan of Mozart, and wrote that the Russian public did not yet understand the importance of Schumann. Beethoven worship was common among Russian critics and musicians, but Chaikovsky approached Beethoven's music with a more impartial view:

> I am not disposed to proclaim the infallibility of Beethoven's principles, and, without in any way denying his historical importance, I protest against the insincerity of an equal and indiscriminate laudation of all his works. But undoubtedly in certain of his symphonies Beethoven reached a height to which scarcely any of his contemporaries could attain.[139]

In a similar vein, Chaikovsky rebelled against the social norms of the musical atmosphere of the day. When asked to identify his musical ideals, Chaikovsky answered "My ideals? … is it absolutely necessary to have ideals in music? I have never given a thought to them… I never possessed any ideals… My ideal is to become a good composer."[140]

From the 1872 article in review of Wagner's *Faust Overture*, Chaikovsky revealed more of his own perspective on the motivation of artists versus scientists, and other issues of work as an artist:

> Among those who labour at art or science we may clearly distinguish two types. The one consists of those who, in obedience to their vocation, select the path which seems best suited to their powers and most in conformity with their idiosyncrasies and lot in life. They do not adopt any fashionable idea as their device. They do not seek to clear their road by overthrowing authority; nor do they constitute themselves the instruments of Providence whose duty it is to open the eyes of blind humanity. They labour, study, observe, and perfect themselves; then they create, by virtue of their natural qualities and the circumstances of time and place in which they have developed. They work out their own problem, and, quitting the area of life, leave the fruits of their labour for the pleasure and profit of future generations. To this type of 'artist-workers' belong Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Glinka. Others, consumed by unmeasured ambition, in order to attain more rapidly to a prominent position, push noisily through the crowd, dispersing right and left all whom they meet on their road, and striving to attract universal attention to themselves. Such artists are ready to post as the representatives of every new – and sometimes false – idea, and strive, not for the realization of their genius, but only to astonish the world by the Don Quixotism. To this type belong Wagner and Serov.[141]

[139] Rosa Newmarch and Peter Tchaikovsky, *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works* (London, UK: William Reeves, 1908), 124.
[140] Newmarch and Tchaikovsky, *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works*, 115.
[141] Newmarch and Tchaikovsky, *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works*, 150-51.

Following the death of the famous critic in 1872, Chaikovsky referred to Serov repeatedly in his article reviewing the revival of Glinka's *Ruslan and Lyudmila* performed in Moscow, addressing his predecessor's position on opera and adherence to Wagnerian principles:

> While the leading lights of Russian music criticism are unanimous in placing Glinka's name at the head of the independent Russian school and thus alongside the names of the greatest composers of all times and peoples, they are in sharp disagreement about the two greatest works of our brilliant composer – his two operas. One group, led by Serov, openly take the side of the first opera, *Ivan Susanin*. In a whole series of articles entitled '*Ruslan* and the Ruslanists' the late Serov tried to demonstrate that however beautiful the music in *Ruslan*, however mature Glinka's mastery in that work, however rich in delightful melodic invention, splendor of instrumentation and abundance of contrapuntal wit, nevertheless that work must be considered the unsuccessful creation of a muddled artist, albeit of a great one. Serov's opinion derived from the proposition which was the motto of his whole career as a critic, the Wagnerian principle that 'opera is musical drama'. There is no drama in *Ruslan*, Serov showed. [142]

In response to the heated discussion surrounding the merits of Glinka's operas, particularly the debate of *Ruslan and Lyudmila* compared to *A Life for the Tsar*, Chaikovsky stated that most critics viewed *Ruslan* inaccurately and defends Serov in his assessment:

> [They claim this] without relying on any philosophical principles or going into aesthetic abstractions, has decided that *Ruslan* is not only Glinka's better opera but the best opera of a whole lot, that is to say the opera of all operas, the wearer of the operatic crown, the ruler of the whole operatic realm. In *Ruslan*, say these columnists who are ardent but known for their paradoxical nature, Glinka displayed by comparison with his first opera the highest creative power….In comparing these two sharply conflicting views and trying to reconcile them, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Serov's criticism is more profound and the more rational. Taking a specifically musical point of view, Serov does not in the least deny the undoubted advantages of *Ruslan*.[143]

Chaikovsky's music was received with a wide array of reactions from composers and critics. His early works closely aligned with the aims of the nationalist camp, with the substantial use of folk songs and folk-inspired idioms, as well as overtly nationalist folk-based material for his operas *Voevoda* (*The Governor*), *Oprichnik* (*The Guardsman*), and *Kuznets Vakula* (*Vakula*

[142] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 135.
[143] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 134.

the Smith). His opera *Eugene Onegin*, premiered in 1879, marked the turning point away from this overt nationalist style to a more mature cosmopolitan compositional blending. In practice, the amount of non-programmatic symphonic music that Chaikovsky wrote set him apart from the nationalist camp. Rather, he earned the reputation as a fabulous melodist. Hermann Laroche described the Russian characteristics of *The Sleeping Beauty* score, which he said contained "an element deeper and more general than color, in the internal structure of the music, above all in the foundation of the element of melody. This basic element is undoubtedly Russian."[144] However, the programmatic pieces he did write were based on or inspired by the Western literature of Shakespeare, Dante, and Byron: program overtures to *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Tempest*, and *Hamlet*, the fantasia *Francesca da Rimini*, and a symphonic poem *Manfred*.[145] Chaikovsky reflected on the concept of national character in his music:

> It seems to me that I am truly gifted with the ability to express truthfully, sincerely, and simply the feelings, moods, and images suggested by a text. In this sense I am a realist and fundamentally a Russian.[146]

In the same 1872 article with reference to Serov, Chaikovsky's early views of Wagner were expressed while reviewing the *Faust* Overture:

> Wagner is undoubtedly the most striking personality on the horizon of the musical world. His works are still far from being understood by the general public, either in Germany or abroad; nevertheless, by means of his rabid polemic against all constituted authority and by the vastness of the problems he has set himself to solve, he has succeeded in attracting to himself the attention of the whole musical world, and even in arousing the interest of those to whom music is not a matter of everyday life. Some regard Wagner as a musical light, second only to Beethoven; to others he appears a charlatan in the style of our 'Abyssinian maestro'; but in any case, if we may believe – not without justification – that Wagner desired to win celebrity at any price, his aim is now attained. He has ardent worshippers and equally furious enemies who make it their business to write about all his

[144] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 166.
[145] Motyl, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, 2, 531.
[146] Motyl, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, 2, 532.

> utterances, and his words are awaited in a spirit of admiration, antagonism, or simple curiosity, by the public of both hemispheres.[147]

Chaikovsky experienced Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* at the inaugural performance on 13 August 1876 at the Bayreuth Festspielhaus in Bayreuth, Germany, to which he said he appreciated the staging, but the music was "unlikely nonsense, through which, from time to time, sparkle unusually beautiful and astonishing details."[148]

Though Chaikovsky's critical output is not as vast as those who wrote for a career, his writing added a moderate, bipartisan viewpoint in the midst of battling opinions of conflicting ideological camps. His decision to write with such neutral stance seems to reflect the assessment he faced of his own compositions, which did not easily fit into either the conservative or progressive camp. Chaikovsky's reviews remained fairly objective, which was not common during this era of Russian criticism, thus adding a developing characteristic to its maturation as a professional field.

Even as a well-known composer and teacher, Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908) avoided contemporary forms of media to a great extent, but his opinions are nonetheless captured from memoirs and other biographical accounts of peers and students. For the majority of his career, Korsakov adhered to the nationalistic ideal of composing in a style representative of original Russian classical music. Out of the other members of the Kuchka, with whom he was associated, Korsakov was the only one who entered into the conservatory training system, albeit as a professor rather than a student. Through his own rigorous self-education at the conservatory, Korsakov mastered Western techniques that he would incorporate into his creative method. Nonetheless, Korsakov's compositions are highly representative of the nationalist school. After

[147] Newmarch and Tchaikovsky, *Tchaikovsky: His Life and Works*, 150.
[148] Roland John Wiley, *Tchaikovsky* (Oxford, UK; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 77.

initially meeting Balakirev, Korsakov was militant in his nationalism, even using Russian language markings of tempo and expression in his manuscripts. He based all 15 of his operas on Russian folktales, poetry, or literature. Almost all of his symphonic works include programmatic titles or themes based on the folk tradition. Korsakov also committed himself to assisting in the orchestration and completion of many large-scale works by his peers.

In a letter of response to Kruglikov regarding advice on whether to devote himself to composition, Korsakov's summarized his personal artistic credo on the matter of formal technique and natural talent:

> I haven't seen your latest romance, but I remember the earlier one. Your musical ability, of course, cannot be doubted. About a talent for composition, however, I can say nothing as yet. You have tried your powers too little… Yes, one can study on one's own. Sometimes one needs advice, but one must study, that is, one must not disdain good technique and correct voice leading. All of us, that is, I myself and Borodin, and Balakirev, and especially Cui and Musorgsky, did disdain these things. I consider myself lucky that I bethought myself in time and forced myself to work. As for Balakirev, owing to his insufficient technique he writes little; Borodin, with difficulty; Cui, carelessly; and Musorgsky, sloppily and often incoherently. Blaramberg suffers from all these deficiencies of a greater or lesser extent, and this constitutes the extremely lamentable specialty of the Russian school… Do not think, however, from my rather brusque epithets, that I have changed in the slightest my attitude toward their works. If these people had good and competent techniques, what a thing that would be! Believe me that although I consider, speaking with complete sincerity, that their talent is much greater than my own, I nevertheless do not envy them a job – although even of myself I will say that I regret having come to my senses so late and started my studies so late. But anyhow I have managed to learn a thing or two, and I know what Blaramberg means by studying on one's own. It means writing and writing – symphonies, operas, and so on, and learning as one goes. And it will all be incoherent and sloppy, awkward to perform; one's every bright thought will be lost under all the weeds that will sprout up everywhere, on every line of the score. Now just look what passions you've unleashed in me![149]

It is here that you can see Korsakov is completely alienated from the ideals of the Kuchkists, and relates more closely to the modernist composers, who incorporated ideas from Western Europe into their original music. The reflection on his own journey revealed the regret of not having

[149] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*, 33-34.

trained in composition earlier in his life, working under the direction of Balakirev to study on his own. Korsakov voiced his criticism of each composer's weakness that could have been improved with training, perhaps providing them with potential tools for compositional excellence. Korsakov wrote to Kruglikov in 1897 about his aims to increase professional standards and leave old ones behind:

> Thirty years have passed now… since the time when Stasov would write that in eighteen sixty-something the Russian School displayed a lively activity: Lodizhensky wrote a song, Borodin thought of something, Balakirev made up his mind to rework something, and so on. It is time to stop all that and travel a normal artistic path. I confess that I, at least, have changed greatly.[150]

Yasterbstev reports that Rimsky-Korsakov once said to him:

> You would scarcely find anyone in the world who believes less in everything supernatural, fantastic, or lying beyond the boundaries of death than I do – yet as an artist I love this sort of thing above all else. And religious ceremonial – what could be more intolerable? And yet with what love have I expressed such ceremonial customs in music! No, I am actually of the opinion that art is essentially the most enchanting, intoxicating lie.[151]

His patriotism was realized in personal events of his life, such as fighting against the attempts of authorities to expel conservatory students for their participation in political meetings during the Russian Revolution of 1905. This led to his own expulsion from his teaching position. Additionally, a police ban was set against the public performances of Korsakov's works. These events triggered a widespread reaction against the ban throughout Russia, including the resignation of fellow conservatory professors, and the walk out of over 300 students in protest.

[150] Stephen Walsh, *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882-1934* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 66.
[151] Karl Aschenbrenner, *The Concepts of Criticism* (Boston, MA: D. Reidel Pub. Co., 1974), 384.

Korsakov fought to defend against censorship of his operatic setting of Pushkin's text of *The Golden Cockerel*, which came too close to satire on the Russian government for their taste.[152]

Having acted as the senior composer of the Beliaev circle in the 1880s and 1890s, Korsakov advised Beliaev on many works prior to their publication. Korsakov even assumed control of the publishing enterprise following the death of Beliaev in 1903, which he managed until his retirement in 1907. In the same year, Korsakov continued to further the exposure of Russian music to European audiences with a pair of concerts in Paris with the impresario Sergei Diaghilev as host. These concerts solely featured music of the Russian nationalist school, bringing great popularity to Russian classical music of this kind in Europe. This is evident in the production of multiple Korsakov operas in Paris the following year.[153]

Korsakov may not have published many articles for public viewing, but his compositional ideals, political positions, and nationalistic convictions spread through the vast network of his pupils and professional connections. A great influence on the generation of composers behind him, Korsakov's convictions developed and altered over the course of his life, which led future composers to pursue an expanded musical knowledge for themselves, rather than limit themselves to training based on political or social agendas.

Like a number of the professional musicians in Russia at this time, Semën Kruglikov (1851-1910) began with a career in another profession, as a civil engineer. Kruglikov turned to a life in music, studying under Rimsky-Korsakov and Liadov at the St. Petersburg Conservatory in the 1870s, then teaching at multiple institutions including the Free School of Music in the 1870s, the Moscow Philharmonic Society Music and Drama School starting in 1881, and finally as the

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[152] Nicolas Slonimsky and Electra Yourke, *Nicolas Slonimsky: Writings on Music. Volume 2, Russian and Soviet Music and Composers* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 27.
[153] Marina Frolova-Walker, "Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolay Andreyevich," *The Oxford Companion to Music*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e5668, accessed 20 November 2016.

director of the Moscow Synodal School of Church Music. Much of Kruglikov's life story comes from the 503 letters between him and Rimsky-Korsakov over the course of 30 years. An active advocate of the works by the Mighty Handful composers, Kruglikov contributed to the papers *Semia* (*Family*), *Novoe Vremia* (*New Era*), *Artiste* (*Artist*), *Novosti* (*News*), *Sovremennik* (*Contemporary*), *Iskussstvo* (*Art*), *Muzykalnoe obozrenie* (*Musical Review*), and *Novosti dnia* (*News of the Day*).[154]

In a review of the Russian Musical Society symphonic concert of exclusively Russian music taking place in Moscow in 1890, Kruglikov not only praises the skills of Balakirev as heard in the symphonic poem *Tamara*, but his descriptive language almost mirrors the programmatic nature of the work itself:

> Mr. Balakirev's *Tamara* is a superlative work of great talent – one of the most clearly outstanding phenomena in the whole of present-day musical literature. Personal acquaintance with nature's gaunt allure in the Caucasus and with Caucasian melodies, the typically Caucasian tradition poeticized with such captivating charm by Lermontov – that is where Balakirev found inspiration, that is what prompted in him the idea of representing Lermontov's *Tamara* in the music of his 'symphonic poem'. It opens with a musical landscape. The wild, bleak Dar'yal ravine… (descriptive Tamara/Terek, river, gorge)… That is what is portrayed to the listener's imagination by this scarcely audible rumble of timpani, the creeping triplets in the strings so colourfully shaded in, and somewhere deep down, the severe, restrained evil of the buzzing brass; these sometimes contain fleeting excerpts of a beckoning feminine theme. But listen closely! An instrumental dance tune can be heard from the tower, a tune with originality, in typically oriental style, with oriental willfulness in its angular rhythm. The tune grows, flares up, dies away, rises up again, changes colour, character and rhythm over and over again – it intoxicates and stupefies. A whole orgy of sounds, now untameably, furiously joyous, now amorous, now enigmatically ominous, frightening. …. Had all of *Tamara* been bad, it would have had to be considered an excellent work on account of this 'Forgive me!' alone. But there is nothing bad about it, although there are nevertheless some shortcomings. There is some of the sort in the 'orgy', whose ardour slakens here and there; to my mind, the fault lies in repeating one powerful device more frequently than is desirable: the increase in sound and speed of movement suddenly dies out in order to return again later to a similar gradual heightening of the atmosphere. The listener follows this growth in the music, his heart stopping as he thinks that this time it will reach a climax, and all of a sudden he is deceived – the growth breaks off, and the sounds begins

[154] Alexander Tumanov, *The Life and Artistry of Maria Olenina-d'Alheim* (Edmonton, CA: University of Alberta Press, 2000), 339.

> to increase all over again. This stuns and excites the listener; he follows the new growth with redoubled attention and, still full of strength, takes its highest point as the longed-for climax. But Mr. Balakirev 'deceives' us in this way more than once, and more than twice; and the listener, who to begin with was stirred and fired up by the 'deceits', has by the end cooled and grown somewhat tired. *Tamara*, is, besides, excessively difficult in performance. The well-known oriental fantasia Islamey for piano by the same Mr. Balakirev is more difficult than any rhapsody by Liszt; and *Tamara* is just about the most difficult orchestral piece ever written by anyone. That's everything; no further reproaches can be levelled against *Tamara*. Woven together from the most original, most talented manifestations of creative power, it is Mr. Balakirev's finest work, a composition which is truly first class, truly ideal. [155]

Not only does Kruglikov praise Balakirev, but his writing as portraying the visuals partnered with the musical scenes of *Tamara* would have no doubt made readers further enjoy their experience of Balakirev's piece, and enforced the popularity of programmatic music simultaneously. The term "oriental" is used here to exude the representations of the exotic "other" in this case the allure of the Caucasus where the princess Tamara lures men to her castle to seduce at night, kills them in the morning, and throws their corpses in the river.

Not nearly as descriptive in tone, Kruglikov gave a positive review of both Glazunov's and Liadov's piano works:

> Mr. Lyadov's Scherzo is a delightful, graceful thing, where the good Schumann has offered a hand of friendship with the skillful devices which characterize the congenial features of the talented composer of the Biryul'ki ('Spillikins'), Intermezzi and many other piano compositions (Mr. Lyadov has until now written almost exclusively for the piano). … Mr. Glazunov's *Poème Lyrique* (likewise a complete novelty in Moscow) maintains a warm melodic style throughout, and is thus free to subdue every listener by the feeling of sincerity which it pours into the soul…. This opinion is typical, and says a lot: Mr. Glazunov's 'Poem' is simple – in other words understandable, clear and accessible…. But on the other hand, Mr. Glazunov does not pander to the crowd or merely purvey agreeable commonplaces to them, the music in his 'Poem' is far from the kind you meet everywhere; on the contrary, it is all entirely his own, full of far from simple details and wholly distinctive harmonic features; and some chord combinations are straightforwardly so new as never to have been encountered before in anyone elses's music. [156]

[155] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1880-1917: An Anthology*, 97-99.
[156] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1880-1917: An Anthology*, 100.

In the same article, Rimsky-Korsakov's piano concerto received highest remarks of the piano works performed in the program, with comparison to Lisztian techniques and laud for the use of folk song:

> There is a great deal of music and a great deal of skill in the Concerto. It is somewhat Lisztian as regards form; in only one movement, it is compressed and laconic in setting out its ideas, yet at the same time rich in content. It all derives from a single wonderful folksong, a recruiting one: 'Sobiraytes'-ka, brattsï rebyatushki' ('Get yourselves ready, brothers, lads'). [157]

At the conclusion of the article, Kruglikov voiced his support for the Russian musical talent, while addressing the reluctance of some of the listening public in Moscow from their Germanic musical preferences:

> In a word, the experiment – of putting on in Moscow a programme of exclusively Russian music compiled from works almost or wholly unknown in Moscow – has been carried out. It has been proved that Russian music offers many compositions of diverse character and great talent, and that an evening devoted solely to them is not only possible but even in the highest degree interesting and desirable. Naturally, several estimable citizens of the musically Germanized heart of Russia [i.e. Moscow] are puzzled and confused, afraid to express their opinion, and turn to the experts for information; the latter explain things as best they can, but in general apparently are starting to succumb to the normal inclination in favour of all that is good, talented and original in Russian music, with those new tendencies with which the music sections of the best Moscow newspapers are beginning to be imbued… [158]

In addition to his writing, Kruglikov contributed to the field of musical education in his work at the Free Music School, Moscow Philharmonic Society's school of music and drama, and the Moscow Synodal School of Church Singing. His participation in the formal training system in Russia may have contributed to his less partisan criticism, though he primarily supported the works of progressive musicians. Perhaps his work with institutions outside of the Conservatory spared him the chastisement of the Kuchka, more specifically of Balakirev.

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[157] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1880-1917: An Anthology*, 101.
[158] Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1880-1917: An Anthology*, 101.

Having begun his musical training at home, and attending classes for the choirboys of St. Isaac's Cathedral, Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov (1859-1935) made a career as a rather successful composer, and highly-respected conductor. His conducting career included work at the Russian Choral Society (1895-1901), the Mamontov Opera (1898-1906), the Zimin Opera, and the Bolshoi Opera house in Moscow from 1925 until his death. Ippolitov also enjoyed academic positions as conductor of the symphony orchestra and director of the music school in Tiflis, Georgia from 1882-1893, when he then obtained a post as composition professor at the Moscow Conservatory from 1893-1906.[159]

As a composer of operas and orchestral works, Ippolitov was not considered a terribly individual composer, and is known for his borrowings from Caucasian and Georgian folk music, generally retaining the idioms of folk-based programmatic nationalism. Inna Barsova described Ippolitov's compositional output as, "Not possessing a dazzling creative individuality he made no attempt to establish an original style."[160] Three of his seven operas used Asian-themed tales for librettos, and his orchestral suite *Caucasian Sketches* (1894) all model the style of Balakirev and Borodin.[161] He borrowed from Korsakov, in particular the notion of folk song-based programmatic nationalism. Ippolitov also expanded the scholarly studies of ethnomusicology with his book *Gruzinskaia narodnaia pesnia i yeyo sovremennoye sostoyaniye* (*The Georgian Folksong and its Present Status*, Moscow, 1895), and to the field of theory, *Ucheniye ob akkordakh,ikh postroyeniye i razresheniye* (*A Study of Chords, their Construction and Resolution*. Moscow, 1897).

[159] Barsova Inna, "Ippolitov-Ivanov, Mikhail Mikhaylovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/13893, accessed 21 March 2017.
[160] Inna, "Ippolitov-Ivanov, Mikhail Mikhaylovich".
[161] Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, 193.

The historian and music critic Nikolai Findeizen (1868-1928) founded and edited the most successful and well-known music journal of the end of the nineteenth century and early-twentieth century, *Russkaia muzykalnaia gazeta* (*RMG*). Running from 1894 until 1917, *RMG* published monthly for its first five years, and then weekly from 1899 until its dissolution. Findeizen contributed over 300 biographical and critical articles,[162] gave lectures on Russian music history, with a particular interest in early Russian music, and actively participated in multiple music societies (International Musical Society in Berlin, and founded the Society of Friends of Music in St. Petersburg).

In 1903, Findeizen founded another publication intended specifically to focus on the history of music in Russia, but it only completed six editions, ending in 1911. Findeizen edited volumes of critical writings of Serov, selections of letters by Glinka and Stasov, and an autobiographical volume on Dargomizhsky including his personal letters and notes by his contemporaries. These and his major work, the two-volume set *Ocherki po istoriĭ muzyki v Rossiĭ s drevneyshikh vremyon do kontsa XVIII veka* (Essays on the History of Music in Russia from Ancient Times to the End of the XVIII Century) was foundational for musicological scholarship on Russian music. Also contributing to the development of the musical profession in Russia following the 1917 revolution, Findeizen was a member of the music division of the People's Commissariat of Education (MUZO), on the artistic council of the State Opera and Ballet Theatres, and head of the music bibliographic division of the State Museum of Music History. He served as the president for the Commission for the Study of Folk Music under the Russian State Geographical Society, as professor of musical archaeology and paleography at the

[162] Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, 59.

Petrograd Archeological Institute (1919-1926), and founding head of the Museum for the History of Music (1919-1928).[163]

Running in the same ideological circle as Stasov and Rimsky-Korsakov, Findeizen and the breadth of the publications in RMG discussed both Russian and Western musical traditions inclusively. Promoting Russian music, Findeizen proclaimed in the introductory edition of *RMG* of its goals, including addressing the lack of coverage of Russian musical culture:

> Only forty years before the appearance of RMG, Alexander Serov had already commented on the incoherent attitude of the general public to the art (and that one of the primary goals of the musical journal is the establishment of a coherent attitude to the art on the part of the general public and musicians) when he [Serov], in the Introduction to the *Musical and Theatre Bulletin* …justifiably asked: 'Why is there such an unreasonable difference in impressions of the same subject on listeners? Why is there so much chaos in opinions?' It is surprising that these words written in 1856, are so equally applicable today.[164]

Findeizen found himself waging war over musical standards in the capital (mainly the Imperial Opera theaters) over the inclusion of Wagner in performance repertoire. Findeizen promoted Wagner, chastising the Imperial Theatres Directorate for the absence of Wagner's works, claiming they deliberately suppressed the acquaintance of the Russian public to Wagner's operas. The *RMG* promoted Wagner with regular articles about his music, and translations of his writings.[165] For example, in 1897, the critic Alexander Koptiaev prefaced his translation of *The Art-Work of the Future* with his conclusion of ignorance on part of Russians:

> We know the word Wagnerism better than Wagner himself. We put on *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*, but fear the operas like the plague. There is very little on Wagner in our music criticism and our literature on him must be almost the poorest in Europe.[166]

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[163] Abraham Gerald and Danko Larisa Georgievna, "Findeyzen, Nikolay Fyodorovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/09663, accessed 28 November 2016.
[164] Natalia Ostroumova, "Introduction to: Russian Musical Gazette (1894-1918)," *Répertoire international de la presse musicale* (2012), http://www.ripm.org/pdf/Introductions/RMGintroEnglish.pdf, 11 January 2017.
[165] Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, 59-60.
[166] Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, 60.

Findeizen's writings in the *RMG* spanned biographical sketches, reviews of musical organizations and their activities, along with discussion of musical genres and contemporary issues such as the organizational disadvantages of Russian musical life and difficulties in the conservatories and musical schools. *RMG* included special attention to modern composers with descriptions of new works and thematic analysis. Laying the groundwork for future historical investigation, *RMG* included articles on the history of the many artistic, musical, and philharmonic societies and theaters in Russia. The frequent inclusion of philosophical and theoretical problems confirms the progressive and modernistic stance that Findeizen intended to promote through the *RMG*. These articles include "The Notes of the Actor" by Gounod, "Art Work of the Future" and "About Conducting" by Wagner, and "The Popular Statement of Acoustics in Relation to Music" by Hugo Riemann. Special issues dedicated to specific composers, countries, or themes included both Russian and foreign musicians, and issues like "W. Shakespeare in Music," "100 Years of the Patriotic War of 1812," "Modern Composers, "Modern Spanish Composers, "Modern Polish Composers," and the like.

Though many articles in the *RMG* voiced opposition to the Imperial Theaters, the content of the journal, in many ways, moved beyond the previous limitations of musical ideologues. Findeizen featured articles on musical folklore and folk song from research about Russian, Bashkir, Ukrainian, and Georgian folk music, as well as articles on church music issues like reforms in worship singing, ancient singing manuscripts, the Court Chapel, and singing in the ancient Christian church. Pedagogical and educational issues were discussed, and a "Chronicle" section of each edition covered announcements, reviews of concerts and theatrical performances, and annual reports of local societies. Considering all of these issues in the pages of a singular

publication surpassed the partisanship present in earlier journals and newspapers, and laid the foundation for a more expansive consideration of Russia's music history.

Many of the composers of this group took interest in or directly participated in the activities of the Symbolist movement, who responded uniquely to Wagner. The Russian Symbolists shared similar philosophical beliefs with Wagner's theory of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, which concluded that all elements of a creation should contribute to it power of communication and connection to its listeners. Wagner's idea of the theater-temple contributed to the Symbolists connection with his work due to their focus on the religious and spiritual aspects of music. Bartlett writes that, "wishing to reach the people, symbolists hoped to shape the popular consciousness through variants of Wagner's theater-temple, which they interpreted as a theater of religion."[167]

The progressive camp of musicians seems the most vocal and well represented in print during the late nineteenth century. They worked hard as advocates for each other's music, and in support of their nationalist goals. This group of musicians emphasized folk music as central to the musical representation of the *narod*, centrally based on the folk song collection harmonized by Balakirev. This contributed to what some heard as a characteristically similar sounding set of music in this era. These composers did not always quote folk songs (actually not often), but imitated the patterns to create a stylistic version of folk music, which they deemed original and thus national due to its creation from an ethnically Russian musician–granted that they were not corrupted by conservatory training. From a socio-economic standpoint, the lack of formal musical training for most of the progressive composers and critics was more of a symptom of their professional options to them at the time (as they required another career for living sustainability), more than a movement stimulated by intellectual ideologues. This camp was torn

[167] Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, 126.

over the acceptance of Wagner, highly colored by anti-Semitic leanings and sentiments among his followers. Their opposition to the importation of European musical training as necessary for compositional success was the unifying argument of the progressives. Some adhered more strictly to this than others, but in principle most agreed that Russia needed to develop its own forms of original art as cultivated by an untainted artist. Even as more of a tightknit group of musicians that worked to endorse one another for the cause of nationalism, there was no unified definition or depiction of what this identity looked like or how it should be represented in music. Mostly, they agreed on the theory that a national musical style should be void of Western compositional training. Those in agreement chose to support each other's musical creations without regard to a set of unifying factors vivid in the actual productions.

Modernist Critics	
Boris Asafiev (1884-1949)	Vladimir Rebikov (1866-1920)
Vladimir Derzhanovsky (1881-1942)	Leonid Sabaneev (1881-1968)
Viacheslav Karatygin (1875-1925)	Vladimir Shcherbachëv (1889-1952)
Alexander Ossovsky (1871-1957)	Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971)

Table 3-4: List of writers on music commonly labelled modernists.

Modernists Move Beyond Nationalism

The youngest of the critics at this time actively writing about music and the progress of Russian art led the way into what became the series of movements in the Soviet Era. The majority of this generation of students studied formally under those from both the progressive and conservative

camps. The aversion to the formal musical education had faded, all having grown up with these systems in place. Absorbing the scientific and technical developments taking place on the continent in the last quarter of the century, the modernists aimed to create original Russian music moving beyond what had become the stereotypical orientalist or exotic sound attached to the first wave of Russian nationalists. More musicians wrote not only for public media such as journals and newspapers, but documented their work in theoretical texts and personal writings.

Alexander Ossovsky (1871-1957) earned his place as a renowned Russian musical writer, critic, musicologist, and professor at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. He initially studied law at Moscow University (1889-93), before living in St. Petersburg to study composition with Rimsky-Korsakov. While a pupil of his, Ossovsky attended musical gatherings at Rimsky-Korsakov's home, where he met Cui, Glazunov, Lyadov, Stasov and the other members of Beliaev's circle.

Beginning his prolific publishing career in 1894, Ossovsky contributed to the journals *Artist* (*Artist*), *Russkaia muzykalnaia gazeta* (*Russian Musical Gazette*), *Izvestiia S-Peterburgskogo obshchestva muzykalnikh sobranii* (*Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Music Collections*), and *Slovo* (*The Word*) where he oversaw the music section of the newspaper. He also wrote encyclopedia articles, and program notes for the Ziloti Concerts between 1906 and 1917. He served on the board (with Medtner, Rachmaninoff and Skriabin) of Koussevitzkii's publishing house from 1910 to 1918. He was one of the founders with Andrei Rimsky-Korsakov and Viacheslav Karatygin of the academic journal *Muzykalnyi sovremennik* (*Musical Contemporary*) magazine in St. Petersburg (1915–17). Ossovsky served as the director from 1923 to 1925 and as the art chair from 1933 to 1936 at the Leningrad Philharmonic.

Additionally, Ossovsky worked at the State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad (1931-33) and at the Leningrad Music and Theater Research Institute as director (1943-1952).[168]

In his response to the work of Wagner, Ossovsky reported that he "appreciated the amount of work that had been invested in the production but maintained there was 'little feeling and even less enthusiasm.'"[169] Covering a vast number of academic subjects, Ossovsky's works include early Russian music through contemporary developments. His notable publications include editions of works by the major composers Glazunov, Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov, and others, along with his translations of books on music from French and German into Russian. Adding to the public concert life, Ossovsky wrote approximately 500 total symphony and chamber concert program notes.[170] Evidence exists of his writing in many memoirs of musicians who worked with him, but the recovery and translation of these articles remain a scholarly task.

Vladimir Rebikov (1866-1920) graduated from the philological faculty of Moscow University, and received musical education under the guidance of Klenovsky in Moscow, then in Berlin under Meyerberger and Muller. Organizing both a music school and a branch of the Russian Musical Society in Kishinev (currently known as Chișinău, the capital city of Moldova), Rebikov also made successful concert tours as a pianist in Russia and in several major European cities. In Kishinev, he wrote for the journal *Artist*, where he also founded a school of music.

Rebikov's knowledge in literature and linguistics complemented the contemporary trends in the symbolist movement, which he sought to express in his own compositions and writings. In 1900, Rebikov revealed his manifesto on "musical psychography" which drew from Tolstoy's

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[168] Larisa Danko, "Ossovsky, Aleksandr Vyacheslavovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/20536, accessed 2 January 2017.
[169] Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, 83.
[170] Danko, "Ossovsky, Aleksandr Vyacheslavovich".

thesis that "music is the shorthand of the feelings."[171] Therefore, in musical composition, one should aim to transmit feelings through sounds, without the restriction of forms and prior traditions the same way emotions are not limited. His philosophy of "Language of Emotions" expressed the function of the composer as the transmitter of feelings, instead of a robot adhering to prescribed presets of theory in composition.

In his 1910 article, "Orpheus and the Bacchantes," Rebikov expressed the idea not entirely opposing formal training, but warning that too much would dampen the individual creative power of a young composer. He used the picture of Orpheus, the music of the emotions, and the Bacchantes, the music of the physical body as the perfect balance for the development of "pure" abstract music.[172] From an article in 1913, Rebikov "further underlined that his innovations were not the result of any theory of aesthetic, but rather his emotional and spontaneous reaction to a given psychological situation."[173]

In an interesting intellectual exercise, Rebikov wrote an essay "Cherez piatdesiat let" ("After 50 Years," 1910), speculating on the state of the musical world 50 years in the future. Dialogic in form, the characters present various philosophies of music. Though many predictions proved inaccurate, the ideas in the text revealed many of his own perspectives on the professional status of musicians and his conservative ideals. For example, though his conclusion that orchestras and concerts would be available in every public place due to the massive increase in highly trained musicians was thwarted due to economic pressures, he "was certainly correct to suggest that art can be demeaned by too frequent exposure, and in inappropriate

[171] Tamara Nikolayevna Levaya, "Rebikov, Vladimir Ivanovich," ibid.|, Cited Pages|. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/23009, accessed 20 December 2016.
[172] Larry Sitsky, *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde, 1900-1929* (London, UK: Greenwood Press, 1994), 18.
[173] Sitsky, *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde, 1900-1929*, 18.

surroundings."[174] He also presented several provocative ideas about concert presentation, for instance the forbidding of audience clapping, full performances taking place in the dark where performers could not be seen, and the presentation of titles only after the performance. The most optimistic of his statements, Rebikov concludes in perfect modernist fashion, "saying that is it the genius who works outside of traditions that ultimately moves music along to its next step; what is necessary is cultivated individualism."[175]

While Rebikov's own compositions originally imitated the romantic style, his works always achieved freedom from pre-established norms. Following his 1900 manifesto, the works became increasingly experimental. Rebikov continued in the Russian fondness for the whole-tone scale, and frequently made use of parallel chordal movement and quartal harmonies, advanced harmonies such as seventh and ninth chords with unresolved cadences, similar to that of Debussy's planing technique. He experimented with the use of polytonality and harmonies based on open fourths and fifths rather than triads. Turning to extra-musical sources of creativity in composition, Rebikov created new genres of musical creation: rhythmodeclamations (music and mime are combined), musico-psychological dramas (mysticized versions of opera), melomimics (musical pantomime), melodeclamation (reciting poetry accompanied by concert music), and meloplastics (synthetic methods of music combined with other arts).

However creative Rebikov's theories and compositional concepts were, they are not viewed as successful musical works in whole:

> Rebikov's music tends to fail because he denied the intellectual rigor necessary to create large-scale musical structures; his language of pure emotion only succeeds in creating essentially miniaturistic mood pictures with simple melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic components; his innovations, interesting in themselves, were the result of an intuition and

[174] Sitsky, *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde, 1900-1929*, 19.
[175] Sitsky, *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde, 1900-1929*, 19.

> were never developed in any way, since Rebikov denied the need for academic disciplines and knowledge.[176]

One can see the influence of progressive ideals and Wagner's theories on the compositions of Rebikov, particularly with his intent to create novel works of music with innovative relationships between the arts.

Though graduating from the department of physics and mathematics at St. Petersburg University, Viacheslav Karatygin (1875-1925) became the leading critic in Russia in the early twentieth century, recognized all over Europe and in America. Through his friendships with the members of the Beliaev circle, Karatygin fed his interest in music by studying composition with Nikolai Sokolov at the St. Petersburg Conservatory (1897-1902). He was one of the organizers of the Vechera Sovremennoy Muzyki (Evenings of Contemporary Music, 1910–12) and one of the founders (in 1923) of the Assotsiatsiya Sovremennoĭ Muzyki (Association for Contemporary Music). Karatygin took over organizing most of the musical Evenings, which positioned him to hear the music of new composers prior to their public debuts, with Beliaev's financial support for the activities. During his 19 years as a music critic Karatygin produced over 1000 articles that were published in a variety of journals, including *Zolotoye runo* (*Golden Fleece*, 1906–7), *Rech* (*Speech*, 1908–17), *Apollon* (*Apollo*, 1909–14), *Sovremennoe slovo* (*Contemporary Word*, 1911–15), *Severnyie zapiski* (*Northern Notes*, 1913–16), *Muzykalnyĭ sovremennik* (*Musical Contemporary*, 1915–17), *Nash vek* (*Our Century*, 1918), *Zhizn iskusstva* (*Life of Art*, 1923–4), *Stolichnaia pochta* (*Metropolitan Post*), and *Russkaia muzykalnaia gazetta* (*Russian Musical Gazette*, exact dates unknown). He often signed his articles "V.K."

It is no surprise that his mathematical capabilities enlightened his skillful assessments and analysis of works by the modernist and experimental composers of the twentieth century, making

[176] Sitsky, *Music of the Repressed Russian Avant-Garde, 1900-1929*, 20.

him a critic of fervently modern orientation. His interest in the intellectual workings of the modernist composers impassioned Karatygin to be one of the early champions of the composers Skriabin, Stravinsky, and Prokofiev. An ardent supporter of Skriabin's modernist compositional style, Karatygin dismissed Rachmaninoff as a musician who "entertains us with experiences long outlived."[177] Karatygin considered Nikolai Medtner more reactionary in his direction than Rachmaninoff, and Medtner a musician that developed from the legacies of the old masters. In the microhistory of the Russian journal *Zolotoe runo* (*Golden Fleece*), Richard Williamson described Karatygin's role in the selections for performance: "A persistent and uncompromising modernist, Karatygin ensured that Skriabin was almost the only Russian composer played regularly at St. Petersburg's 'Evenings of Contemporary Music,' and in what later became almost daily writings in the press, he supported modernism in any form."[178] The leading modern voice of the early twentieth century in Russia, Karatygin wrote a great deal on Wagner during his career as a music critic. Karatygin became perhaps the most important music critic in Russia in the early Soviet period.

In the 1910 obituary for Balakirev, Karatygin characterized his death as the end of the generation of Russian composers of the nationalist school, and labels the new order of musical modernism in Russia as the "New Russian School":

> Before our eyes there has occurred, or rather there is occurring, a new revolution in Russian music. A certain denationalization of it is taking place, alongside a noticeable invasion of it by elements of Western European "impressionism." Debussy and Ravel, Reger and Strauss have taken the place of Schumann and Berlioz in our musical history… But in order for a new fertilization of Russian musical thought with the aid of Western European creative achievements to take place painlessly and without the eventual loss of our musical physiognomy, it was necessary that in preparation that

[177] Mitchell, *Nietzsche's Orphans: Music, Metaphysics, and the Twilight of the Russian Empire*, 157.
[178] William Richardson, *Zolotoe Runo and Russian Modernism, 1905-1910* (Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis, 1986), 75-76.

> physiognomy be shown fully. And this was the task accomplished by the members of the "New Russian School."[179]

One of the first critics to praise Igor Stravinsky, Karatygin wrote of his initial impressions in 1908:

> There is still an impression of a test of skills, both orchestral and contrapuntal (in the latter field Stravinsky is also very strong). There is a great deal that is dim-sounding, there is stiffness of expression, there is even some academic aridity of technique – faults that are only forgivable by virtue of that cheerfulness of mood that is even now one of the prized properties of this gifted young Russian composer's creative personality. He merits our full attention.[180]

His excitement for modernism is witnessed in his supportive reviews of Prokofiev, as well as in his attempts to analyze, define, and explain new theoretical concepts heard in the unexpected harmonizations from the new composers. He used terms such as *hypophony* for the "musical texture that is neither monodic nor polyphonic in the strict sense."[181] Defying the laws of traditional harmony, Karatygin applied the term *neo-heterophony* as the "polytonal use of harsh superimpositions and arbitrary choral combinations." [182] In his own words neo-heterophony could be heard as "the superimpositions of one pattern on another without any particular relation between the two."[183] In support of Prokofiev's *Scythian Suite*, Karatygin praised the stylistic extremes of what others labelled "barbaric" as "one of the most important and valuable examples of Russian musical modernism."[184]A revealing and somewhat prophetic essay by Karatygin in

[179] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*, 499. Original source: V. Karatigin, "M. A. Balakirev," *Apollon*, 1910, no. 10, 54.
[180] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*, 227.
[181] B. Gasparov, *Five Operas and a Symphony: Word and Music in Russian Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 239.
[182] I. V. Nest'ev and Florence Jonas, *Prokofiev* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1960), 121.
[183] Nest'ev and Jonas, *Prokofiev*, 121.
[184] Nest'ev and Jonas, *Prokofiev*, 121.

1912 assessed Arnold Schoenberg's talent, and hailed him "the most dating, most paradoxical and perhaps the most significant of the German modernists."[185]

In response to the premiere of *The Rite of Spring* ballet, Karatygin was similarly taken aback by the intensity of the dissonance in Stravinsky's music. Even as "St. Petersburg's lonely 'official modernist,'" as Taruskin described him, Karatygin's reviews of the ballet were the most accurate and thus valuable to historians due to his disinterest in the movement of what he called Stravinsky's "futurism."[186] In multiple articles Karatygin addressed the futuristic technologies affecting the worlds of art and music, the issues of psychological impressionism, and the role of rhythmic displacement in Stravinsky's musical aesthetic. Taruskin described Karatygin's 1914 article as "by any standard the finest bit of technical writing on Stravinsky to appear anywhere in the years of the composer's first fame."[187]

Adhering to his modernistic leanings, Karatygin assisted the musicians responding in rebellion to the Kuchka and their nationalistic labels to redefine themselves. Karatygin termed their modern approach as "denationalization," (originally about Stravinsky's *The Firebird* in 1910) which advanced musicians proudly claimed as a marker of compositional maturity moving beyond the first wave of Russian national music that they viewed as the youthful version of Russian music, not yet fully developed.[188] Karatygin's work as a music critic assisted in the transition from the late-Imperial era into the twentieth-century modernist movement, while maneuvering a sensitive system of political and social unrest.

Born in the last quarter of the century, Boris Asafiev (1884-1949) studied at both the historical-philological faculty of St. Petersburg University and the Conservatory, where he

[185] Benjamin Boretz and Edward T. Cone, *Perspectives on Schoenberg and Stravinsky* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 112.
[186] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*, 28.
[187] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*, 27-28.
[188] Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, 85.

studied composition with Liadov and orchestration with Korsakov. Asafiev is best known for his work as a critic and musicologist after the Russian Revolution. His writing under the pseudonym Igor′ Glebov in the journals *Muzyka* (*Music*), *Muzykalnyĭ sovremennik* (*Musical Contemporary*), *Zhizn iskusstva* (*Life of Art*), and *Krasnaia gazeta* (*Red Gazette*), expressed his interests in the classical legacy of Russian music and contemporary music.[189] He held respected leadership positions with several musical organizations. From 1910 he worked as a rehearsal accompanist and coach; along with composing and editing ballet music after 1916, and from 1919, Asafiev was a member of the board of directors and repertory consultant at the Mariinsky and Mikhailovsky Theaters. He also assisted with the organization of the music department at the Petrograd Institute for the History of the Arts where he acted as director from 1921. He taught at the Leningrad Conservatory beginning in 1925, and at the Leningrad Music Technical School.[190]

Professionally, Asafiev established himself as a scholar through his publishing in journals on reception, theory, aesthetics, and semiotics, as well as books addressing issues of modernism in composing. He was an active member of the Association of Contemporary Music (ACM). His musicological studies of music include *Book about Stravinsky* (1929), *Russian Music from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* (1930), and *Musical Form as a Process* (1930).[191] Asafiev's theory of *Intonation* (1947) expanded on the nineteenth century philosophy of realism, interpreted through the lens of Soviet politics. Asafiev proclaimed that music should not be merely for "individual passive contemplation, but active, collective, cultural music making based on certain shared 'intonational vocabulary' of the epoch."[192] This systematic theory formulates

[189] Larisa Danko, "Asaf'yev, Boris Vladimirovich," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/01388, accessed 6 March 2017.
[190] Danko, "Asaf'yev, Boris Vladimirovich".
[191] Sergey Prokofiev and Harlow Robinson, *Selected Letters of Sergei Prokofiev* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 87.
[192] *Philosophical and Cultural Interpretations of Russian Modernisation*, ed. Katja Lehtisaari and Arto Mustajoki (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), 123.

that within the means of musical expression lies the intonations inherent in the language of a people (particularly folk song repertoires), thus making music a carrier of ideological significance:

> Soviet realism demands that Soviet composers write music based on musical intonations, that is, intoned meanings which are supposed to be the carriers of the ideological significance of Russian nationalism and of Soviet reality. . . . Musical recollections, impressions, and fragments become interwoven with life experiences, feelings, and aspirations, penetrating the artistic life and traditions of peoples. . . . The background of great compositions is a world of music as an activity of public consciousness: musical interjections, rhythmic intonations, popular motivic fragments, harmonic turns, and extracts of musical impressions of an epoch.[193]

These and his critical writings helped to shape the fraught debate on national identity that continued into the twentieth century.

While some attribute the basis of this theory to the political pressures of the Soviet government, a logical conclusion, the influence on the generation of composers in which Asafiev associated should not be missed. Stasov secured Asafiev a position working at the Imperial Public Library in 1919. Spending evenings at Stasov's dacha, Asafiev also met Glazunov, the painter Ilya Repin, Maksim Gorky, and the bass Fëdor Chaliapin. He gained first-hand experience of the traditions of the Kuchka through this time with Stasov, along with others he met. Working as the ballet pianist at the Mariinsky Theater beginning in 1910 also enabled him the position to meet famous musicians of the day.[194] Seen in his own compositions, Asafiev used the pseudo-oriental style as drawn from earlier Russian composers such as Borodin, vivid in his ballet *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai* (1934).

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[193] Lewis Eugene Rowell, *Thinking about Music: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Music* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 214.
[194] Fedor Lopukhov and Stephanie Jordan, *Writings on Ballet and Music* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 203.

Having met Sergei Prokofiev as a young student in the harmony class at the St. Petersburg Conservatory, Asafiev and his peer Anatoly Kankarovich assisted Prokofiev during his early career.[195] As early as 1915, Asafiev was an enthusiastic champion of Prokofiev's music, seen in the review of the song cycle *Ugly Duckling* at the beginning of his career:

> For many people, Prokofiev is himself an ugly duckling. And who knows, perhaps that's why the ending of the tale is unsuccessful, because his transformation into a swan – the complete unfolding of his rich talent and self-knowledge – is still to come.[196]

In the discussion of nationalism, Asafiev along with Boris de Schloezer, Arthur Lourie, and Pyotr Suvchinsky are credited with shaping the conception and representation of Stravinsky as a Russian composer in these years. Levite described the phenomenon of public representation in print and the reciprocal sway on a composer's own identity as seen with Stravinsky: "Although all four men were associated in some way with St. Petersburg, each adopted a different ideological and aesthetic perspective on what it means for Stravinsky to be considered a 'Russian.'"[197]

A part of the intellectual community, Asafiev's training as a musician combined with his studies of philosophy, sociology, and logistics produced a notable perspective on modern music, particularly in Russia during the revolutionary upheaval of the early twentieth century. His extensive writings provided additional defense to the theories of modernists interested in the human psyche, and the processes of how psychological functions were affected by music. Both his scholarly and popular writings affected trends in Soviet era music.

Other modernists that assisted in the movement towards Soviet realism and other twentieth-century artistic trends include Vladimir Derzhanovsky (1881-1949), Leonid Sabaneev

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[195] David Nice, *Prokofiev: From Russia to the West, 1891-1935* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 29.
[196] Prokofiev and Robinson, *Selected Letters of Sergei Prokofiev*, 88.
[197] Tamara Levitz, *Modernist Mysteries: Perséphone* (Corby, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012), 295-96.

(1881-1968), Vladimir Shcherbachyov (1889-1952), and Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971). The modernist movement incorporated the sciences directly into the art of composition, the understanding of perception and listening, and the processes that take part in learning. The mathematical advancements particularly noticeable in the compositions of this group are evident in the rhythmic intricacies and complexities. Similarly, applying numerical techniques and psychological understandings of reaction and listening capabilities, unexpected harmonies and harmonic combinations demonstrated the complete disregard for the previous generations adherence to any pre-dated contrapuntal or harmonic norms. The theoretical exploration of new and expanded tonal systems attempted to not only attempt to analyze and explain experimental compositions, but also to act as innovative foundations for future writers of music.

Overall, all three groups of musical movements desired to establish what they believed was a true Russian national musical style. Some issues that arose of surface-level arguments included the perspectives on musical education and whether it benefitted a talentet composer, or detracted from their natural and thus original talent. Opinions over Wagner, his music, and his philosophies also divided groups and individuals. However, the fundamental conflict lay amidst the dissenting opinions of what characteristics defined Russian music and who could be qualified as Russian in order to produce this national music. Issues of ethnicity, musical training, cosmopolitanism versus isolationism, class prejudice, and the treatment of folk song served as the points of opposition. Because of these multi-layered elements of national identity to which each musician could characterize their own individualism, there were no clear lines between the ideological camps and their members.

Chapter 4: Examining the Institutions: State Financing of Choral Composers

During the second half of the nineteenth century, institutions funded by the Russian government functioned as important initiators of nationalist ideologies through the financing of education, research, and artistic endeavors. The elements of Russian identity at the forefront of intellectual and political discussion included peasant mythology, a revival of folklore and folk song, and emphasis on the Orthodox Church as central to the unification of the empire. Institutions based in St. Petersburg such as the Ministry of the Interior, the Imperial Court, the Imperial Geographical Society, the Russian Musical Society, and the St. Petersburg Conservatory provided essential financial support to musicians and artists in the late nineteenth century. While a few institutions or societies obtained financial support from private patrons, the majority of funding for these groups came from the government, along with the ideals and preferences of the ruling class. Subsidized and taught in orphanages and schools associated with factories, nobles such as Maria Fëdorovna assisted in the arrangement of funding for musical programs for lower and middle-class citizens, particularly youth.[1] This chapter examines the institutions funding choral composers and the correlation of financial support to the influences on subject and style of their choral music output. Evaluating patterns of style, harmonic treatment, subject matter, and genre demonstrates direct correlations with their service under specific institutions and the impact of their nationalist ideologies.

The largest branches of the Russian government that oversaw Russian civic issues include the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Education, the local governing bodies (the *zemstvo*), the Bureau of Censorship, and the Holy Synod. Executed through these assemblies,

[1] Swartz, *Piano Makers in Russia in the Nineteenth Century*, 44.

governmental programs and social reforms during the 1860s and 1870s emphasized the unification of Russian peoples through the enforcement of nationalistic ideologies. This manifested in the administration of Russification (*obrusenie*), a program that reached the regions of non-ethnic Russians, such as Poland, Ukraine, and the Caucuses in the 1880s and 1890s. They implemented Russian as the national language, along with other governmental policies that aimed to replace the native culture of each region.[2] Motivation for this type of programming manifested in aristocratic fears of social uprising, particularly amongst urban laborers, as recently witnessed in many major European cities. For example, St. Petersburg experienced disturbances of factory workers for the first time in the 1850s and 1860s, involving demands for additional pay or compensation for holidays. These strikes demonstrated the workers desire to correct industrial issues, rather than those of juridical status (as peasants) or collective political movements.[3] Governmental officials sought to preserve the unity of the Russian state and ethnic identity by suppressing external forces, such as non-Russian ethnicities and religions, from gaining collective momentum or educational freedom, potentially causing a threat of social and political uprising. Military motivation for Russification was "…a general feeling that Russia's interests would be best defended if the borderlands were themselves more Russian in character."[4] Additionally, other methods of promoting Russianness are evident from research programming, governmental organizations, and indirect financing through military positions and pensions awarded by the tsar. Artistic and musical figures of this era benefited from these opportunities, many of which required this fiscal assistance in order to pursue their art.

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[2] Theodore R. Weeks, "Russification: World and Practice 1863-1914," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 148, no. 4 (2004): 474.
[3] Reginald E. Zelnik, ed., *Workers and Intelligentsia in Late Imperial Russia: Realities, Representations, Reflections* (Berkeley, CA: The Regents by the University of California, 1999), 163-64.
[4] Weeks, "Russification: World and Practice 1863-1914," 476.

Military and civil service offered employment as one of the few financially consistent professions available, especially for those of lower-class background. By establishing service quotas for all male peasants by nationality, military service functioned as another tool of the nationalist agenda by the tsarist empire. The Universal Service Statute of 1874 aimed to bridge the divide between the "small westernized elite" of Russia and the mass of peasants, as well as between the apparently dominant Russian nationality and non-Russian peoples of the empire.[5] The project's "professed goal was the preservation of the numerical, and thus spiritual and cultural, predominance of Orthodox, ethnic Russian officers."[6] Demonstrating the multiple ethnicities included in the Russian majority state, the imperial census of 1897 included Ukrainians and Belorussians as ethnic Russians, a practice common for many years as regions considered a part of the "Great Russian" nation.[7] The government also expanded its reach over its people through forced service, particularly the dependency of the lower classes who greatly benefitted from retaining civil service positions. Service elevated ethnic Russians into officer positions, while including non-ethnic Russians as a part of Russia's military, a highly celebrated entity during the nineteenth century.

The Ministry of the Interior was primarily responsible for maintaining public order throughout the Russian Empire. This included overseeing penitentiaries, state property, construction, roads, medicine, clergy and nobility, and issues of religious toleration "as far as this toleration corresponded to state interest,"[8] though some duties diverted to other ministries and governmental bodies by the mid-nineteenth century. Directly affecting socio-economic issues, the ministry dealt with worker disturbances, working conditions and pay, and other problems that

[5] Gregory Vitarbo, "Nationality Policy and the Russian Imperial Officer Corps, 1905-1914," *Slavic Review* 66, no. 4 (2007): 682-83.
[6] Vitarbo, "Nationality Policy and the Russian Imperial Officer Corps, 1905-1914," 683.
[7] Vitarbo, "Nationality Policy and the Russian Imperial Officer Corps, 1905-1914," 687-88.
[8] Lieven, *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. 2, Imperial Russia, 1689-1917*, 235.

arose with the development of industrial factories in the latter half of the century. The Ministry of the Interior aimed to support policies favoring the worker often at the expense of the bourgeoning class of industrialists.[9] While some peasants of St. Petersburg worked in factories, they represented only a small portion of lower-class workers within the city. The majority of peasants found employment in labor positions such as construction, transportation, handicrafts, with a smaller population as servants, janitors, coachmen, and the like. Most of these positions placed the peasants in the service of the Ministry of the Interior, with a small percentage under private households or industries.[10] Employment opportunities and restrictions affected the people's ability to partake in artistic and musical events. Choral music became the most accessible musical form to a wide span of social classes, as encouraged and supported by the government.

Committees within the ministry focused on relief for the poor through the support and organization of volunteer organizations such as the Empress Maria's Foundation and the Ministry of the Interior's Committees on Begging, among other private charities.[11] Members of the aristocracy made up the majority of this ministry's staff, a reflection on the shared belief of their class's responsibility to care for the underprivileged people in their nation. During the 1880s and 1890s, the primary issues of workers in St. Petersburg included poor working conditions and pay. Most aristocrats blamed factory owners. Consequently, the Ministry of the Interior drafted and supported policies aimed to lessen the suffering of workers, "at the expense of the emerging class of socialists."[12] In order to offer alternative sources of entertainment, large

[9] Lieven, *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. 2, Imperial Russia, 1689-1917*, 434.
[10] Zelnik, *Workers and Intelligentsia in Late Imperial Russia: Realities, Representations, Reflections*, 50-51.
[11] Popkin, 64.
[12] Lieven, *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. 2, Imperial Russia, 1689-1917*, 434.

factories built theaters to "encourage workers to drink less freely and work more productively,"[13] with entertainment available at low prices to local workers as examined in chapter 2.

While the Ministry of the Interior, the most powerful government group during the nineteenth century, never clearly defined Russian nationality, "a subconscious national ideology did reign in the halls of Russian officialdom."[14] Russian citizens observed these ideologies through a variety of social and economic implementations, in most cases, directed from the local governing body, called *zemstvo*. The *zemstvo* in St. Petersburg, however, underwent pressures unique to this city because of its proximity to the central government. Finally, the Ministry of the Interior also oversaw the maintenance of religious toleration, meaning those religions that were deemed acceptable to the State. Orthodoxy remained the most powerful socio-religious institution in Russia until the end of the Imperial era, employing the most elite musicians and minds for its purposes. However, its social control suffered challenges during the second half of the nineteenth century. Theodore Weeks summarizes the political position of Orthodoxy throughout the Imperial era:

> Orthodoxy was by Russian law the 'reigning' religion: the tsar and his family were required to profess to the Orthodox faith, and other religions in the Russian Empire were at best only tolerated. Until April 1905, conversion from Orthodoxy to any other religion, even a Christian denomination, was strictly forbidden.[15]

Amongst the urbanization and industrialization in post-reform St. Petersburg, "these processes of social change inevitably generated a host of new issues, for not only state and society, but also the Russian Orthodox Church."[16] Although the parameters of its authority

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[13] Catriona Kelly and David Shepherd, eds., *Constructing Russian Culture in the Age of Revolution: 1881-1940* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 80.
[14] Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), 33-34.
[15] Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia*, 33-34.
[16] Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow, and James L. West, *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 215.

varied throughout the nineteenth century, the Holy Synod, formally called *Svyashchennyy sinod Russkoy pravoslavnoy tserkvi* (the ruling body of the Russian Orthodox Church), remained the most powerful entity affecting social and cultural elements of Russian's daily lives. The members of the Holy Synod possessed license to arbitrate between questions of censorship, national education, and religious freedom. The clergy generally assumed a supraclass position, remaining "above particular social classes or political parties."[17] Krindatch explains the clergy in relation to the government establishment:"By the beginning of the 19th century the Russian Orthodox Church became not only a 'national' but also a 'nationalized' (e.g. state-owned) Church with the clergy regarded as state employees."[18] Demonstrating this political unanimity, the trademark national triad "Orthodoxy – Autocracy – Peoplehood" (*Pravoslavie*, *Samoderzhvie*, *Nardonost*) was produced by the minister of education, Count Sergei Uvaroff (1786-1855). Social award from the State in the form of career opportunities awaited those who converted to the Orthodox faith.[19]

In general, the Church viewed urban development and its cultural impact as contrary to traditional Orthodoxy. Spiritual needs of the rural regions gained the focus of the Church during the nineteenth century, until the resurgence of the Liberation Movement (*osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie*), which attempted to reconnect with urban society.[20] Gregory L. Freeze, in his chapter on "The Church and its Urban Mission in Post-Reform Russia" summarizes the position of the Orthodox Church and its goals following the cultural reforms of the 1860s:

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[17] Clowes, Kassow, and West, *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, 224-25.
[18] Alexey D. Krindatch, "Changing Relationships Between Religion, the State, and Society in Russia," *GeoJournal* 67, no. 4 (2006): 269.
[19] Krindatch, "Changing Relationships Between Religion, the State, and Society in Russia," 270.
[20] Clowes, Kassow, and West, *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, 216.

> To be sure, from the 1860s the Church had tended to regard the modern city as a cultural antipode to traditional Orthodoxy and to hypostasize the Church's identification with the village and its way of life… Predictably, the church also felt unsure of its hold on the city's lower strata, especially the workers who manned the new factories that were springing up all across the urban landscape. This antiurbanism, though muted and not systematically articulated, was not limited to reactionary bishops; even liberal priests expressed anxiety about the secular city and tended to idealize the ignorant but pious villagers as the bastion on Orthodoxy. Unlike the corrupted townspeople, the "people"—ordinarily equated with the gray masses in the village—seemed to preserve their traditional piety.…To be sure, the Church did not altogether ignore the spiritual needs of the city, and, especially from the 1890s amidst the resurgence and restructuring of the Liberation Movement (*obsoboditel'noe dvizhenie*), it made a new effort to reach various segments of urban society. For all its earnestness, however, this urban mission ultimately failed to "urbanize" Orthodoxy, to carve out a salient niche for the Church in the teeming cities of the empire.[21]

The Holy Synod retained significant authority over the lives of Russian citizens throughout the nineteenth century, especially as a sponsor and censor of artistic and musical creations for the Orthodox Church. Though unsuccessful as a movement to "urbanize" Orthodoxy, the flourishing of choral music written for the Orthodox Church during this period exhibits the enduring power of the Church among Russians. The composers Anton Arensky, Alexander Grechaninov, Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov, Anatoly Liadov, Sergei Liapunov, and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov among others, composed choral works on sacred or liturgical texts, most for the first time in their composing career. Their influence remained an embedded feature of Russian culture, both social and political. Participation with sacred choral music in the traditional Orthodox fashion, as sponsored and encouraged by the Church, occurred as cantatas for political events such as coronations, anniversaries, and dedications, as well as in public Orthodox services, and private services in monasteries and convents. St. Petersburg was home to dozens of Orthodox parishes (*prikhodi*), most of which supplied choral music with local amateur singers. Only the largest and wealthiest cathedrals afforded large choirs with professional singers: St. Isaac's Cathedral, St. Peter and St. Paul Cathedral, Alexander Nevsky Lavra, Our

[21] Clowes, Kassow, and West, *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, 215-16, 24.

Lady of Kazan Cathedral, Smolny Cathedral, and Trinity Cathedral. These were home to paid musicians, including composers, and the center of not only religious occasions, but also public political events. Publishing sacred works, however, was highly censored with controls by the Holy Synod. From 1816 under Dmitry Bortniansky, (1751-1825) until the years of Arensky's tenure through the first decade of the 1900s, the director of the Imperial Court Chapel and the Sacred Censorship Committee (1880-1900s) held the power to reject works from publication and public use.[22] Even following the relaxation of censorship by the Imperial Court Chapel in the 1890s, the latest works suffered rejection due to incorrect harmonization of liturgical settings or improper chant presentation.[23]

Also influential to the daily lives of the Russian people, the Ministry of Education concentrated on issues of the people such as educational standards, censorship and press issues, the Orthodox clergy, and the nobility. Educational structures, operations, and curriculum changed according to governmental reforms throughout the 1860s-1900s, executed and overseen by the Ministry of Education. Following the reforms of Alexander II (1818-1881, reigned 1855-1881), the Ministry of Education expanded educational opportunities, by establishing provincial and district school boards for primary schools (1864), subject to the inspector of schools (a Ministry position), as well as financing charter high schools and universities (1863-1864). However, this expansion of support came with increased ideological and practical control. After 1863, women could not attend universities, and state policy tightened its controls in the 1880s at higher education levels by suppressing curriculum options.[24] Public and private initiatives during the 1860s and 1870s aimed to improve the educational opportunities of the Russian lower-class population through formal elementary education, establish factory classes, and the Sunday

[22] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 89, 99.
[23] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 102.
[24] Teruyuki Hara and Kimitaka Matsuzato, *Empire and Society: New Approaches to Russian History* (Sapporo, Japan: Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University, 1997), 129.

school movement. Most initiatives were successful in stirring beginnings of formal educational opportunities, though they were subject to amendment under the reforms of Alexander III (1845-1894, reigned 1881-1895). In reaction to the liberal reforms of his father, Alexander II, tightening control of state policy in field of higher education followed Alexander III's pattern of overarching repeal of freedoms during his reign.[25] The St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Sciences, the Mining Institute, St. Petersburg Imperial University, St. Petersburg Conservatory, and the Imperial Academy of Arts constitute the major institutions of higher education, founded and supervised by the Ministry of Education, in late-nineteenth-century St. Petersburg.

A branch of the Ministry of the Education during the 1800s, the Bureau of Censorship enforced less stringent restrictions over the content and dissemination of books, newspapers, leaflets, periodicals, music, theatrical productions, and works of art beginning with the reign of Alexander I (1801-25) until the death of Alexander II in 1881. This era is described as one of cultural optimism and flourishing as demonstrated by the quantity of output from artists, musicians, and writers. Following the faltering of social reforms in the 1860s and 1870s, Alexander III severely tightened censorship.[26] Rogger described the ramifications of the tsar's restrictions on a variety of public avenues of cultural expression: "These and earlier regulations could and did lead to warnings, fines, suspensions (for up to eight months), to the removal of books and journals from public reading rooms, to the denial of licenses for new publications, to outright suppression."[27] Interestingly, among this atmosphere of constraint, "the number of newspapers in Russia rose between 1883-1913 from 80 to 1,158."[28] This burgeoning of journals proved a substantial means for the State and other prominent individuals to disseminate

[25] Rzhevsky, *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Russian Culture*, 129.
[26] Lieven, *The Cambridge History of Russia. Vol. 2, Imperial Russia, 1689-1917*, 97-98.
[27] Hans Rogger, *Russia in the Age of Modernisation and Revolution, 1891-1917* (London, UK; New York, NY: Longman, 1983), 57.
[28] Kelly and Shepherd, *Constructing Russian Culture in the Age of Revolution: 1881-1940*, 71.

nationalistic ideologies. Administered by multiple government ministries, repercussions of "cultural Russification" reached government schools, which enforced the exclusive teaching of Russian language, particularly in the Western Provinces. However, among other notorious Russification policies, the active promotion of native culture created opportunities for Russian musicians, artists, and architects where European styles had previously dominated.

The Imperial Court, its chapel, and theaters prescribed the majority of cultural and artistic trends throughout the Romanov dynasty. For a century, since the reign of Catherine the Great (1762-1796), instrumental music and opera from the West dominated the classical musical and theatrical canon in Russia. Hosting regular functions with musical, artistic, theatrical, and culinary entertainment, the Imperial Court events fabricated the elite fashions and trends. Dance masters taught Russians the latest steps, painters instructed amateur artists, and the Imperial theaters hired professional opera impresarios to direct the Italian and French productions.[29] For the benefit of the performing arts, Alexander III ended the monopoly on theatrical productions held by the Imperial Theatres in 1882 and shut down the Italian Opera theater three years later, creating a vast opening in society for new Russian operas. The well-funded opera company in St. Petersburg, the Imperial Russian Opera, prospered using funds no longer taken for the Italian troupe, establishing the Mariinsky as the nation's premier stage.[30] Similarly, the oldest professional choir in Russia, the Court Chapel Kapella, received a rebuilt concert hall, library, and living spaces in 1886-89, on the Moika River.[31] Demonstrating the cultural significance of these two musical traditions during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Court Chapel

[29] Jim Samson, *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 72.
[30] Rzhevsky, *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Russian Culture*, 103.
[31] A. L. Porfiryeva, "Glinka Capella," Saint Petersburg Encyclopaedia, http://www.encspb.ru/object/2855705846?lc=en, accessed 9-3.

Kapella and the Imperial Geographical Society employed some of the most distinguished composers of the time.

Among other government programming aimed to establish Russia as independent from the West, the Russian Geographical Society (called the Imperial Geographical Society at this time) commissioned ethnographers and musicians to collect and transcribe folk songs and folk tales from peasant villages, one of the first to publish detailed studies on Russian folklore. With generous state funding and patronage by the Imperial family (Grand Prince Constantine Nikolaevich and Grand Princess Elena Pavlovna),[32] this society became an ideological center "intrinsically related to political and social factors…It shows that the rapid and powerful growth of nationalist sentiment at this time was the main inspiration for the work of the young Russian Geographical Society."[33] The two primary patrons of this society actively participated in the new wave of reform; "Constantine Nikolaevich was 'the most powerful and consistent defender and patron' of the liberal movement in the 1860s… Elena Pavlovna was an ardent supporter of enlightenment and emancipation in Russia."[34] Their influence on national sentiment, as promulgated through the Imperial Geographical Society appeared particularly in the concept of *narodnost*, viewing the folk and village peasants as the authentic Russian peoples. This investment to learn about lesser-known regions in Russia's vast empire encouraged a sense of local and national pride for both the research subjects and those engaging with them in exploration. The society propagated this nationalist desire by awarding the best reports, granting

[32]Nathaniel Knight, "Constructing the Science of Nationality: Ethnography in Mid-nineteenth Century Russia" (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1995), 223.
Mark Bassin, "The Russian Geographical Society, the "Amur Epoch," and the Great Siberian Expedition 1855-1863," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 73, no. 2 (1983): 243.
[33] Ibid.,Bassin, "The Russian Geographical Society, the "Amur Epoch," and the Great Siberian Expedition 1855-1863," 240.
[34] Bassin, "The Russian Geographical Society, the "Amur Epoch," and the Great Siberian Expedition 1855-1863," 243.

certificates of gratitude, and prestigious printing of successful authors in the society's journal.[35] Contributing to issues of social justice amongst the group "was the hope that ethnographic studies of the Russian people could help to provide the basis for the abolition of serfdom and the establishment of a new legal order in the countryside."[36] This new and positive connection to their Eastern regions reiterated Russian separation from the West as advocated by those of Russian nationalist sentiment.[37]

The collecting of folk tunes and texts immediately transmitted to the musical representation of Russianness, relived by contemporary Russians through the singing of folk songs and choruses. Use of folk tunes and choruses infiltrated Russian opera and instrumental music. Choral singing blossomed, through the creation of new public and professional choruses, as well as the expansion of repertoire for existing choirs, and the availability of new performing venues. Listening to familiar Russian tunes encouraged a sense of national pride. Perhaps even more powerful, however, was the ability to participate in making this music as a personal experience. Choral singing offered the singular avenue for peoples of all social classes and status to engage in Russian music. Chapter 2 expands on the choral ensembles active in St. Petersburg and the experiences of nationalist sentiment in these environments. By examining the career and financial obligations imposed by these powerful institutions, the compositional style and techniques bring to light the ideological influences on choral composers in St. Petersburg.

[35]Jane Burbank and David L. Ransel, *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), 125.
[36] Knight, 222
[37] Bassin, "The Russian Geographical Society, the "Amur Epoch," and the Great Siberian Expedition 1855-1863," 243.

Composers Funded by the State

In addition to these governmental branches, the State financed cultural, artistic, and musical establishments, successfully maintaining ideological control over social and cultural movements. Alexander III funded major building projects, like the onion-domed Church of the Resurrection, begun in 1882 on the site where his father was assassinated. He founded the Russian Museum of Art, the first state museum dedicated to Russian art. The Imperial Academy of Arts and the Society for the Promotion of Artists authenticated the painters Fëdor Tolstoy, Ilya Repin, Fëdor Vasiliev, and Ivan Shishkin among others, through educational financing and university teaching positions. These institutions contributed to the sense of Russia's break from the West, aligning with the nationalist movement, through the purpose of demonstrating Russia's artistic, musical, intellectual, and therefore cultural individuality.

Nikolai Bakhmetev (1801-1891) represents a composer who produced choral output solely for the purposes of a State institution. With no professional musical training, Bakhmetev obtained the post in the Court Chapel through his duties in military and diplomatic service. Having retired in Saratov, Bakhmetev conducted an orchestra and chorus of serfs living on his estate, demonstrating his amateur abilities as a musician.[38] During his term as director at the Imperial Court Chapel (1861-1883), Bahkkmetev inflicted stringent censorship over publications of liturgical music. As a result, music for the Orthodox Church declined in quality and quantity from respected composers due to the difficulty of publishing new works. Rather unsuccessful as a composer during his lifetime, Bakhmetev's compositional style, heavily influenced by his private German tutors, expressed a complex harmonic language, using dissonant chords and

[38] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 31.

unusual resolutions.[39] Despite the fact that his choral works were published and intended for performance by the Court Kapella, Bakhmetev's style hardly reflects the traditional Russian Orthodox modal tradition, beyond the *a cappella* arrangement of voices. Very few of his choral works survive, solely in their original publication. Only the pieces of Bakhmetev, Aleksei Lvov (1799-1870), and few others received publication during his era of directorship at the Imperial Court Chapel (1861-1883), primarily thanks to the over-arching control the Court exerted over censoring new publications.[40] Successfully traveling internationally as a violinist, his reputation placed him as a valuable head at the Imperial Court in 1837. Lvov had earned favor of the Tsar Nikolas I with his national hymn "God Save the Tsar" in 1833. This support increased his censorship powers. The largest body of Lvov's choral output is fifty-two sacred pieces for the Russian Orthodox Church,[41] expressly written for the Imperial Court Kapella, as noted in his autobiography.

The subsequent composers experienced a patchwork of financing from multiple institutions throughout their careers, exemplifying the significance of these organizations on their professional successes. The works of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and Anton Arensky show distinct examples of compositional decisions most apparently motivated by professional and financial obligations.

The occupational history of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908) demonstrates the necessity of employment with multiple institutions simultaneously, directly correlating to the beginning of his choral music output. Korsakov entered naval service immediately following his education at the College of Naval Cadets in 1862. He began composing while on deployment for

[39] Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir: 1796-1917*, 118.
[40] Jaffé, *Historical Dictionary of Russian Music*, 160.
[41] M. Lisitsyn, *Obzor dukhovno-muzykal'noi literatury (Survey of Sacred-Musical Literature)* (St. Peterburg, RU: Unknown, 1902). Several choruses are documented only from concert programs, personal letters, and notes.

two and a half years, at the suggestion of Mily Balakirev, whom he previously befriended in 1861. Korsakov made his public debut as a composer in December 1865, with his first symphony. Within the next two years, Korsakov earned the rank of commissioned officer, which settled him "into an undemanding sinecure befitting his high social rank."[42] In 1873, Korsakov was named Inspector of Naval Bands. He standardized the instrumentation and training of Russian naval musicians and initiated the Russian practice of providing naval and army bandmasters with a conservatory education. He also personally directed the reorganization and training of the navy bands based at Kronstadt, Nikolaiev, and Sevastopol naval bases.[43] While retaining his naval position, Korsakov began teaching composition and orchestration at the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1871, regardless of his lack of formal musical training. Indicative of the multiplicity of his professional life, Korsakov taught his classes in military uniform every day, as required for all active service men.[44] The financial stability achieved by these two positions encouraged Korsakov to marry and begin a family. His compositional output, minimal to this point, consisted of opera and large-scale symphonic works. In his memoirs, Korsakov described his promotion in 1873 to Inspector of Naval Bands as the financial breakthrough, which allowed him to become a dedicated composer. Reflecting this sentiment, his rate of composition increased tremendously.

Three years after this appointment, Korsakov began to compose choral music, all of which were secular in nature, primarily folk song arrangements, including his "Four Variations and Fughetta on Russian Folk Song," Op. 14, "Two Choruses," Op. 13 for three women's parts and his collection of 100 Folk Songs, Op. 24.[45] In 1876, Korsakov produced his most famous

[42] Taruskin, *On Russian Music*, 167.
[43] Historica, "Military Music and Tradition in Imperial Russia".
[44] Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov and Carl Van Vechten, *My Musical Life* (London, UK: Faber, 1989), 117.
[45] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Sto Russkikh Narodnikh Pesen (100 Russian Folk Songs)* (Moscow, RU: State Musical Publisher, 1951).

choral piece, "Slava," Op. 21 (meaning "glory"), as commissioned for the twenty-fifth anniversary of Alexander II's reign.[46] The next three years Korsakov produced the "Poem about Aleksei, Man of God," Op. 20 a folk-song arrangement for chorus and orchestra, *15 Russian Folksongs*, Op.19[47] for mixed voices, and "Four Choruses," Op. 23 for three men's parts with piano.[48] All Korsakov's choral works written up until 1883 use folk songs and secular subjects.

Parallel to his new appointment as Assistant Director of the Imperial Court Chapel in 1883, Korsakov began producing sacred and liturgical works for the Orthodox Church, as well as cantatas with orchestra, a genre in which he had never previously composed. Taruskin describes this era of composition as a time when Korsakov was "not above churning out church choruses for performance by the Imperial Court Chapel Kapella."[49] An example of his sacred works, written in the *a cappella* style of the Orthodox tradition, is "Pater Noster" from the *Collected Sacred Musical Arrangements*, Op. 22b which contains six hymns written on chant melodies for two choruses.[50] Based on liturgical chants, Korsakov eschewed a time signature (see Figure 4-1). Cadences at the ends of phrases use Western-style resolutions of V-I with standard voice leading. It begins in the tonic, F major (m. 1), with the first two phrases ending on C major (V, m. 6), and the third phrase ends with resolution V-I in F (m. 8), immediately moving to and completing the phrase in D minor (vi, m. 10). The following phrases end in G minor, F major, C major, D minor, G minor, and finally returns to F major (m. 12). The complete harmonic series of chords at the end of each phrase is: I-V-V-vi-V-ii-I-V-V-vi-ii-I-I (see Figure 4-1).

[46] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Slava! (Glory!), Op. 21* (Miami, FL: E. F. Kalmus, 1984).
[47] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Russian Folk-Songs Arranged in Folk Style, Op. 19* (Moscow, RU: Muzyka, 1990).
[48] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Far, Far Away in Persian Lands* (New York, NY: P. L. Jung, 1897).
[49] Taruskin, *On Russian Music*, 180.
[50] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Op.22* (André Van Ryckeghem, 1884). Published in Russian, Latin, and French.

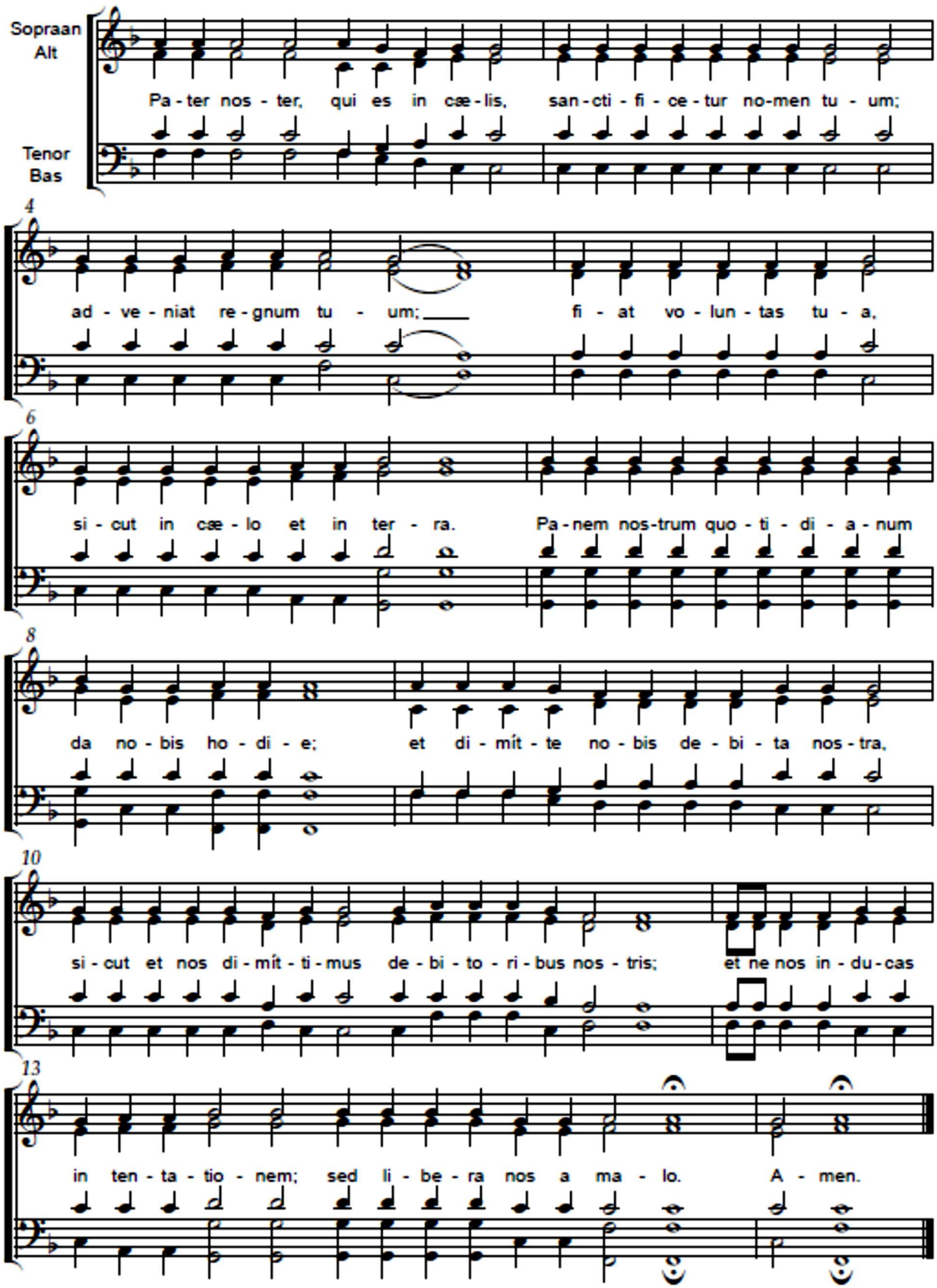

Figure 4-1: Rimsky-Korsakov, “Pater Noster” from Collected Sacred Musical Arrangements (23) Op. 22b.

This is a typical example of Korsakov's sacred choral music, similar to many composers at this time writing for the Orthodox Church. During his tenure at the Imperial Court, Korsakov solely produced sacred choral works. Although Korsakov was dismissed honorably from his naval position in 1884, he retained his job at the Imperial Court Chapel until 1894, receiving from both pensions sufficient to live comfortably with his wife and seven children. Following his resignation from the Imperial Court Kapella, Korsakov never wrote another sacred choral piece.

Korsakov, however, returned to composing choral music in 1897. All but one of these pieces include an orchestra or chamber ensemble and allude to Korsakov's interest in Russian literature and folk tales. "Strekozi" ("Dragonflies"), Op. 53,[51] a trio of voices with strings, uses the poetry of a contemporary author, Count Aleksei Tolstoy. The final three choral works of Korsakov's output are cantatas, all with secular subjects. *Switezianka*, Op. 44,[52] cantata for soprano and tenor soloists, chorus, and orchestra, is derived from the folk tale of the Mermaid of Lake Switez. *Song of Oleg the Wise*, Op. 58[53] for tenor and bass, chorus, and orchestra is based on the poem by Alexander Pushkin about Oleg of Novgorod, the Varangian prince who ruled part of the Rus' people during the early-tenth century, made legendary by myths of a prophecy-fulfulling death. *A Page from Homer*, Op. 60 for soprano, mezzo-soprano, and alto soloists, women's voices, and orchestra, excerpts a scene from the *Odyssey* when the hero finds himself shipwrecked and stranded on the beach by Nausicaa and her maidens.[54] Korsakov's late era choral works draw on operatic and theatrical conventions of contemporary composers, particularly in the orchestration utilized to establish the scene and mood. The influence of Wagnerian chromaticism combined with sound effects using Western symphonic instruments to

[51] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Strekozi (Dragonflies), Op. 58* (Leipzig, DE: M. P. Belyayev, 1897).
[52] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Switezianka: A Cantata, Op. 44* (Melville, N. Y.: Belwin-Mills, 1981).
[53] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Pesn' o veshchem Olege (Song of Oleg the Wise): Op. 58* (Melville, NY: Belwin-Mills, 1981).
[54] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Une Page D'Homere: Prelude-Cantate (A Page from Homer): Op. 60* (Leipzig, DE: M. P. Belaieff, 1905).

emulating Russian folk instruments exemplify Korsakov's operatic style, which is also heard in his secular cantatas.

Another avenue for choral compositions appears in Korsakov's operas as numbers that represented the voice of the people, often performed as excerpts by large choirs. For example, the Final Chorus from *Snegurochka* (*The Snow Maiden*), Act IV, is the "Hymn of praise to the sun-god Yarilo," the god of vegetation, fertility, and springtime.[55] This chorus demonstrates the style of arrangements based on folk songs or Slavic folklore. Korsakov exploits traditional folk instruments and an energetic dance style, reminiscent of Russian folk dances. Choruses often performed this hymn independently in concert settings. In his opera *Sadko*, the first tableau opens with the chorus singing homophonically and syllabically with instrumental doubling.[56] Also imitating the *a cappella* and polyphonic style of folk singing, Korsakov wrote pairs of balanced eight-bar phrases (rehearsal no. 7, mm. 35b-43a), with repetition (rehearsal no. 7, mm. 43b-49), like the strophic nature of most Russian folk tunes (see Figure 4-2). Within the eight-bar phrases, each begins with unison in voices, expanding stepwise between voices, typical in the folk singing tradition. However, each phrase ends with a dominant to tonic cadence with scale degree V-I motion in the bass voice, a Western harmonic idiom (see Figures 4-2 and 4-3). The repetitions following obscure this sound with continual stepwise motion in the orchestra.

[55] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Snegurochka (The Snow Maiden)* (St. Petersburg, RU: V. Bessel, 1881).
[56] Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, *Sadko* (Leipzig, DE: M. P. Belyayev, 1897).

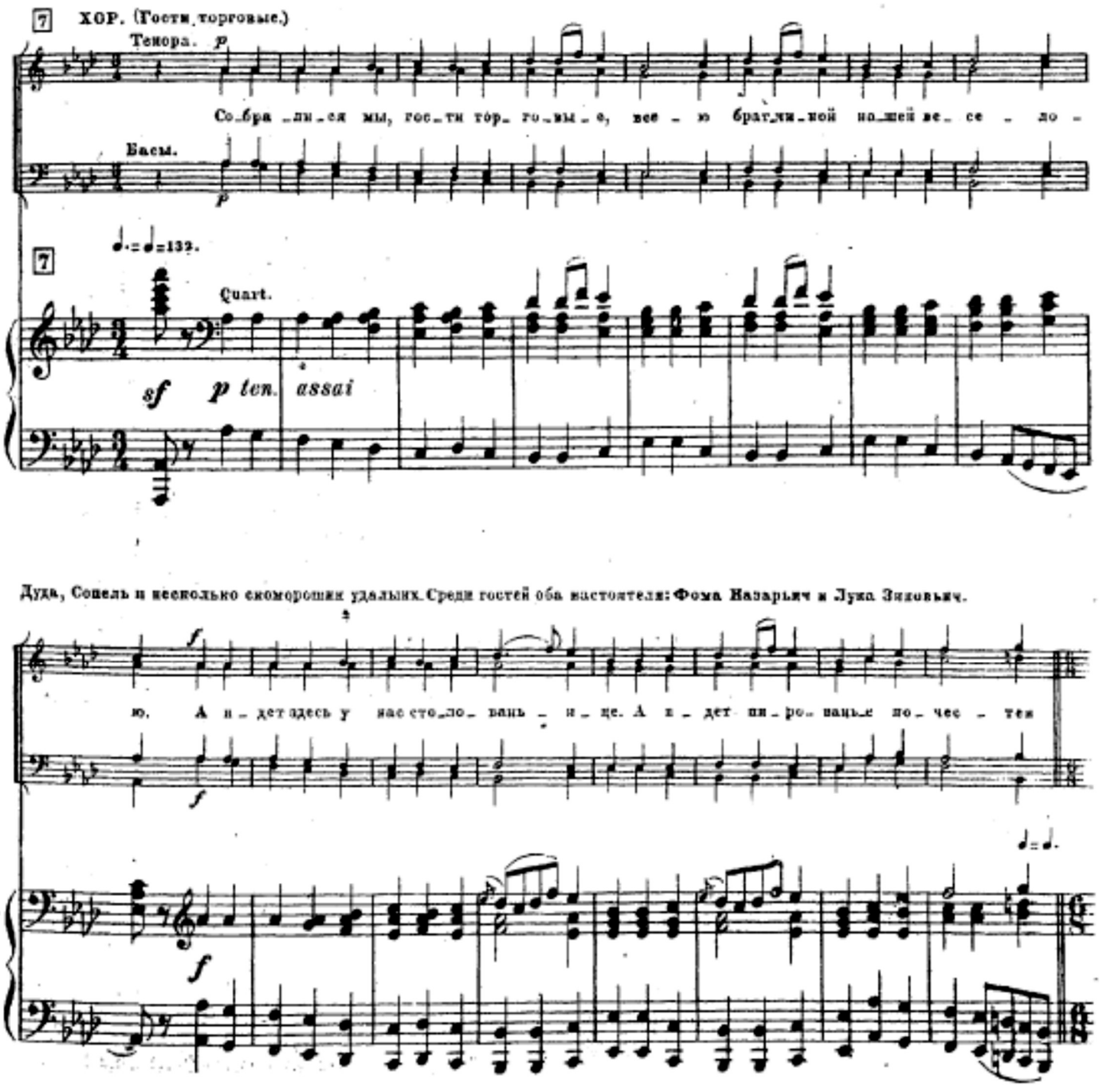

Figure 4-2: Rimsky-Korsakov, *Sadko*: Tableaux 1, Rehearsal no. 7, mm. 35-49.

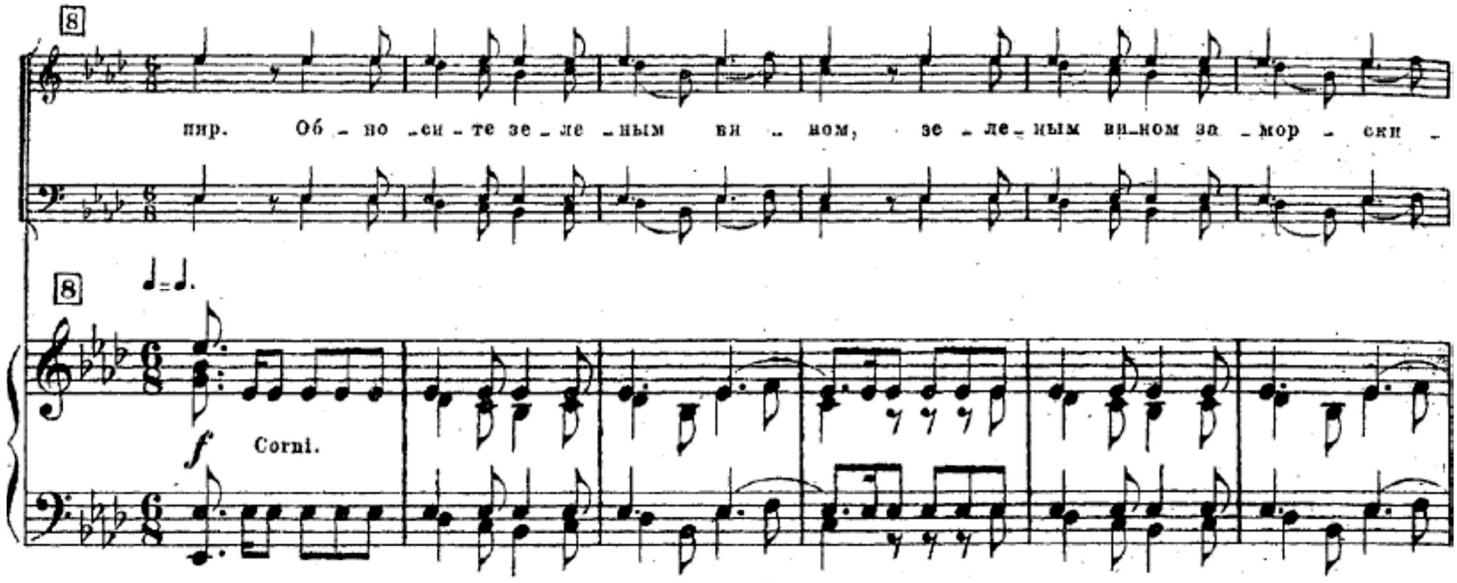

Figure 4-3: Rimsky-Korsakov, *Sadko*: Tableaux 1, Rehearsal no. 8, mm. 50-56.

Translation:
Sobralis myi, gosti norgjvye, (We gathered, guests shopping,)
Vseiu bratchinoĭ nasheĭ veseloiu. (Collective gatherings are fun for all.)
A idet zdec u nas stolovanie (And here we will have a feast)
A idet pirovane- po chesten pir (And here is the dinner – an honest feast.

The connection between career and choral music of Korsakov's output vividly reveals the weight of external powers on the compositional decisions of his writing. This includes the choices of text and subject matter, the instrumental or vocal arrangement, and the stylistic characteristics (harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic identifiers). It is clear that Korsakov took great interest in using folk tunes, non-western scales, ideals of the *narod*, and idioms of the eastern "exotic," as well as both Russian historic and folk tales in much of his repertoire (seen mostly in his operas and programmatic symphonic works). Apart from the *Russian Easter Overture* (1888), the only appearance of music using a sacred subject or style related to Orthodoxy is in his choral output. The demand of sacred works for the Imperial Court Chapel Kapella dictated the appearance of these works, seemingly outside of the character of Korsakov's compositional legacy.

While some of his orchestral and piano music remains in the modern classical repertoire, Anton Arensky (1861-1906) is best known as a famous pedagogue, especially as the teacher of Sergei Rachmaninoff and Alexander Skriabin while teaching at the Moscow Conservatory (1882-1894). Little biographical information remains about Arensky beyond references to his teaching style and commentary by students; however, the dates of his choral output and his employment history exist. In 1882, Arensky produced his first choral work, *Lesnoĭ tsar* (*The Wood King*, 1882) a secular cantata written for soloist, chorus, and orchestra on a text by Goethe.[57] Arensky wrote six similar large-scale choral works throughout his career. Whether there was influence here is indefinite, however, Arensky wrote *Lesnoĭ tsar*, under the compositional tutelage of Korsakov at the Conservatory. Korsakov wrote four secular cantatas with the same performing forces after 1897, much later than Arensky's first, but also preceding the final three that Arensky wrote.[58] Cantatas served as the genre of choice as a graduation requirement for student composers at the Conservatory. This genre was similarly important as a graduation requirement at the Paris Conservatoire. Following his training at the St. Petersburg Conservatory under the tutelage of Rimsky-Korsakov in 1882, he received a teaching position at the Moscow Conservatory.

During tenure at the Moscow Conservatory (1883-1894), Arensky wrote a mixture of both sacred and secular choral works. For example, *Our Father* from his four sacred choruses on the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Op. 40 was written in 1891, prior to his tenure as administrator for the Imperial Court Chapel. This piece represents the traditional Orthodox four-voice *a cappella* arrangement, but generally exhibits Western romantic harmonies and part

[57] *Lesnoĭ* tsar (*The Wood King*) published 1882. Shrock, *Choral Repertoire*, 515.
[58] Anton Arensky, *Bakhchisariai Fontan (The Fountain of Bakhchisarai), Op. 46* (Moscow, RU: P. Jurgenson, 1899).; Anton Arensky, *Kubok (The Goblet), Op. 61* (Moscow, RU: P. Jurgenson, 1903).; Anton Arensky, *Burya (The Tempest), Op. 75* (Moscow, RU: P. Jurgenson, 1906).

writing techniques, particularly resolutions at cadences (see Figure 4-4, m. 3). The use of two- and four-bar phrases, dotted rhythms at ends of phrases, and an unusual triplet in the middle of repeated notes are indicative of Western style writing.

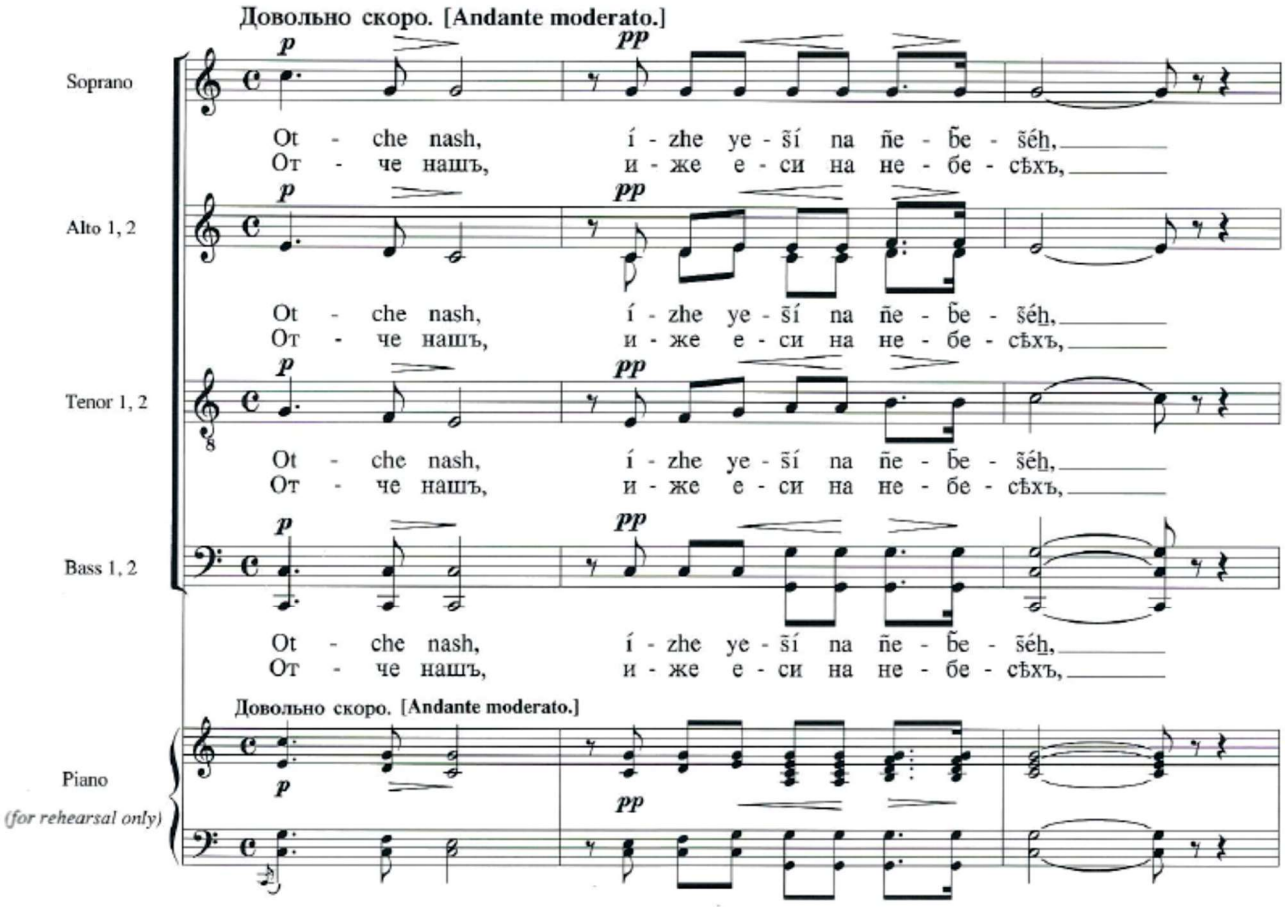

Figure 4-4: Arensky, "Otche Nash" ("Our Father"), mm. 1-3.

In contrast to the trend in Korsakov's choral writing during his position at the Imperial Court Chapel (1895-1901), Arensky wrote only secular choral works, most in the form of cantatas with instrumental accompaniments. His output during tenure at the Court Chapel following Korsakov in 1895 suggests a change in ideology as implemented by the State, with increased emphasis on folk songs instead of sacred songs, a possible reflection of the waning power of the Orthodox Church. Additionally, Arensky's choral works exhibit his fascination

with great authors. He wrote using texts of Goethe, Schiller, Pushkin, and Shakespeare before and after working for the Imperial Court. Contrarily, while composing for the Imperial Court Kapella, his choral works solely derive from writings of Russian writers: Pushkin, Afanasy Fet, Vasily Zhukovsky, and Fëdor Krukov. It is safe to assume that setting Russian authors would have been encouraged by the Imperial Court, as evidenced by Arensky's output. Financially, Arensky lived off a sizable pension (6,000 rubles annually) from the Court after his retirement in 1901, though he only lived five more years. The compositional trends of text and genre demonstrate the magnitude of eminent peripheral influences on Arensky's choral music output.

Independently supported by the Russian Musical Society and the Free Music School as conductor and director at different times in his life, the output of Mily Balakirev reflects his outspoken goals to establish a Russian national musical style. However, it is apparent he produced most of his choral pieces for the purposes of a particular choral group or event. During his years as the director of the Imperial Court Chapel (1883-1895), Balakirev strictly wrote sacred music, in the style of the Russian Orthodox *a cappella* tradition. This obligation appeared in his letter to Vladimir Stasov of 11 August 1887:

> This summer I am having no luck at all with my various affairs and, on top of everything else, I have to write sacred pieces for publication by the Kapella on those texts, which have not already been set to music.[59]

Written as tributes, Balakirev dedicated the commissioned pieces to his patrons: the "Hymn in Honor of the Grand Duke Georgy Vsevolodovich" (1889)[60] for mixed chorus, and "The Golden Time has Flown Away" (1891), for female voices, as a graduation song for the Polotsky Ecclesiastical Girls' College. After a gap in choral writing for seven years, Balakirev

[59] A. S. Liapunova et al., *M. A. Balakirev i V. V. Stasov: Perepiska (M. A. Balakirev and V. V. Stasov: Correspondence)* (Moscow, RU: Muzyka, 1971), 117.
[60] Mily Balakirev, *Kantata na otkrytie v S.-Peterburg pamiatnika Mikhailu Ivanovichu Glink (Cantata for the Unveiling of the Memorial to M.I. Glinka in St. Petersburg)* (St. Petersburg, RU: Julius Heinrich Zimmermann, 1904).

produced “Hymn in Honor of the Most August Patroness of Polotsky Ecclesiastical Girls’ College, the Empress Mariya Fëdorovna,” (1898), and the following four hymns in the same SATB arrangement.

For example, “So svyatymi upokoi” (“Rest with the Holy Ones”),[61] published in 1900 after approval by the Ministry of the Imperial Court censor. This short liturgical piece resembles typical Orthodox tradition in its use of homophonic and syllabic text setting (see Figure 4-5, 4-6). The two sections of the piece are unbalanced: the A section spans 20 measures, and the B section only 10 measures. Though dissimilar in length, the melodic lines are identical in contour, but of different lengths to fit the text in each section. The piece begins in what seems like A minor. This is asserted by the opening A-minor triad, as well as through the use of D minor as an expansion of this tonic (m. 3) and a deceptive motion toward F major at the end of the phrase in m. 7. However, the next phrase includes C-sharp (mm. 8 and 9) as part of A-major harmonies that tonicize D minor, whose tonic arrives in m. 10. This section (mm. 1-9) can be viewed as an A harmonic-minor scale which can also be labelled as Aeolian mode with a raised third scale-degree, or Ionian mode with a lowered sixth. The mode here is complicated by the overlapping of Phrygian mode in the soprano with a final on A in measures 8-9. Measures 10-14 are more clearly borrowing from the Phrygian mode on D with the E-flat and B-flat. The end of the phrase in measure 14 on a F dominant-seventh chord leads to the conclusion of the last phrase of the first section on an A-major chord (m. 21).

[61] Mily Balakirev, *Dukhovno-muzykal'nyya perelozheniya is sochineniya Balakireva (Sacred Compositions and Arrangements by Balakirev)* (Moscow, RU: Gutkheil' 1900).

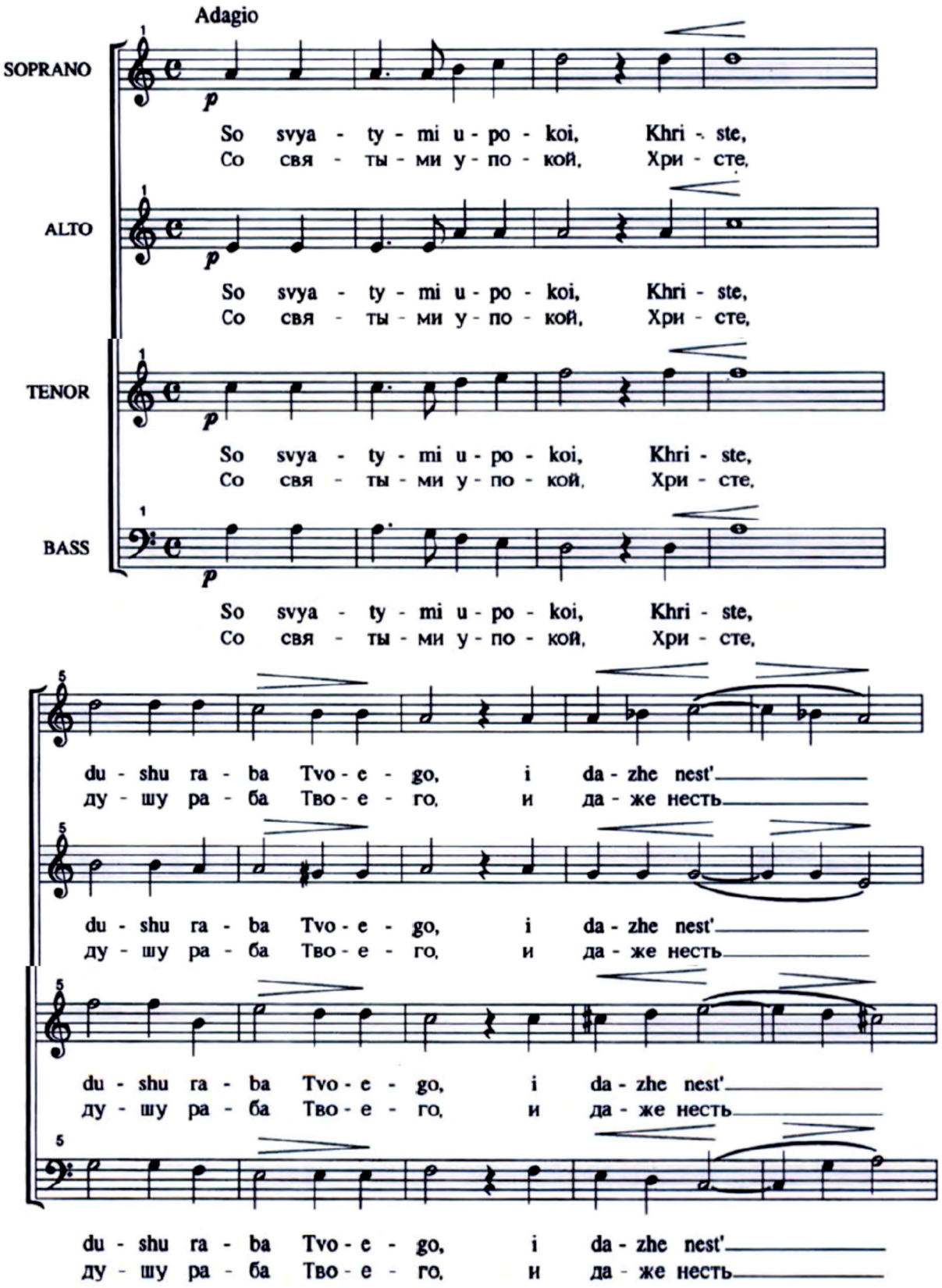

Figure 4-5: Balakirev, “So svyatymi upokoi” (“Rest with the Holy Ones”), mm. 1-9.

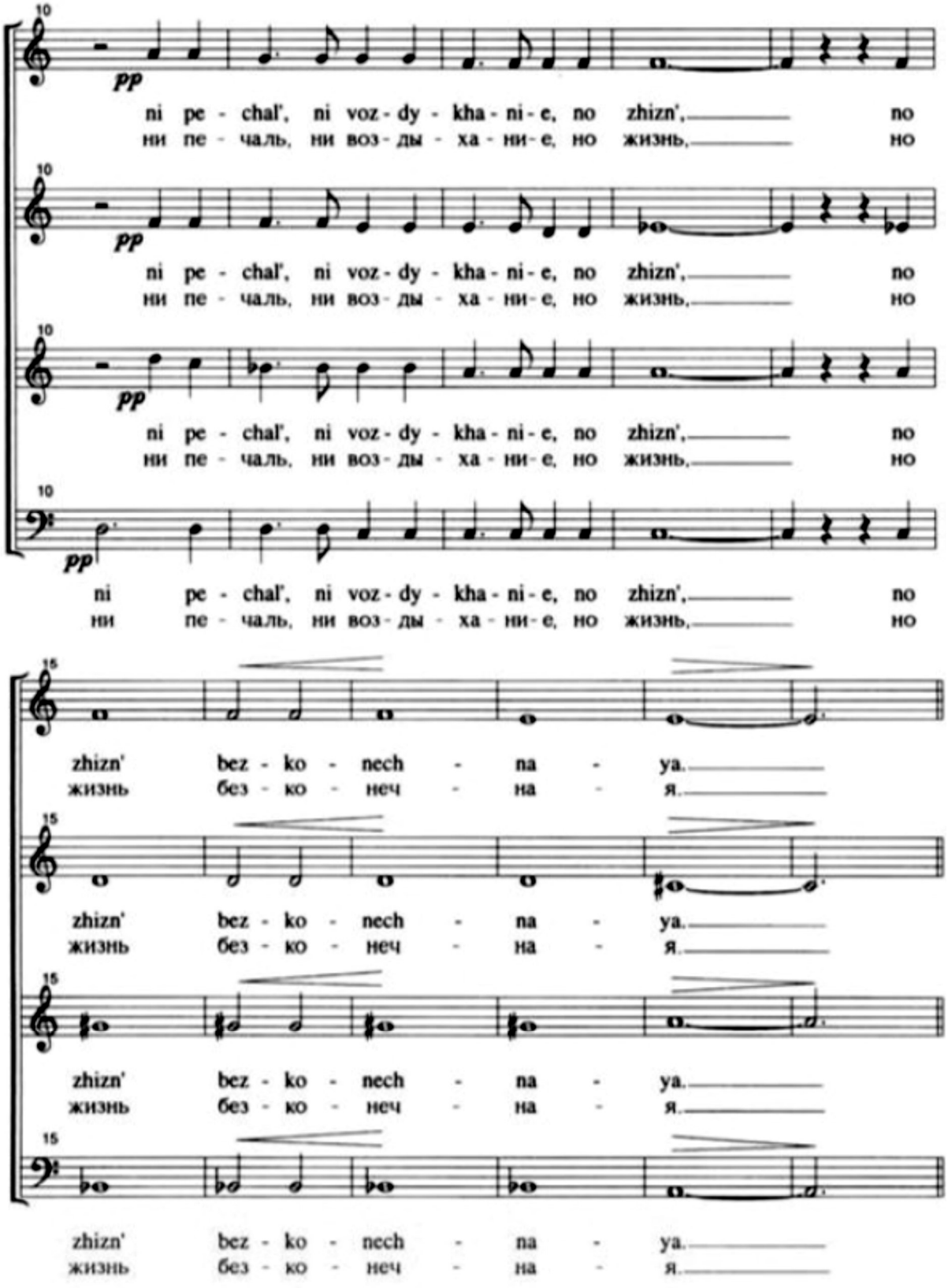

Figure 4-6: Balakirev, “So svyatymi upokoi” (“Rest with the Holy Ones”), mm. 16-21.

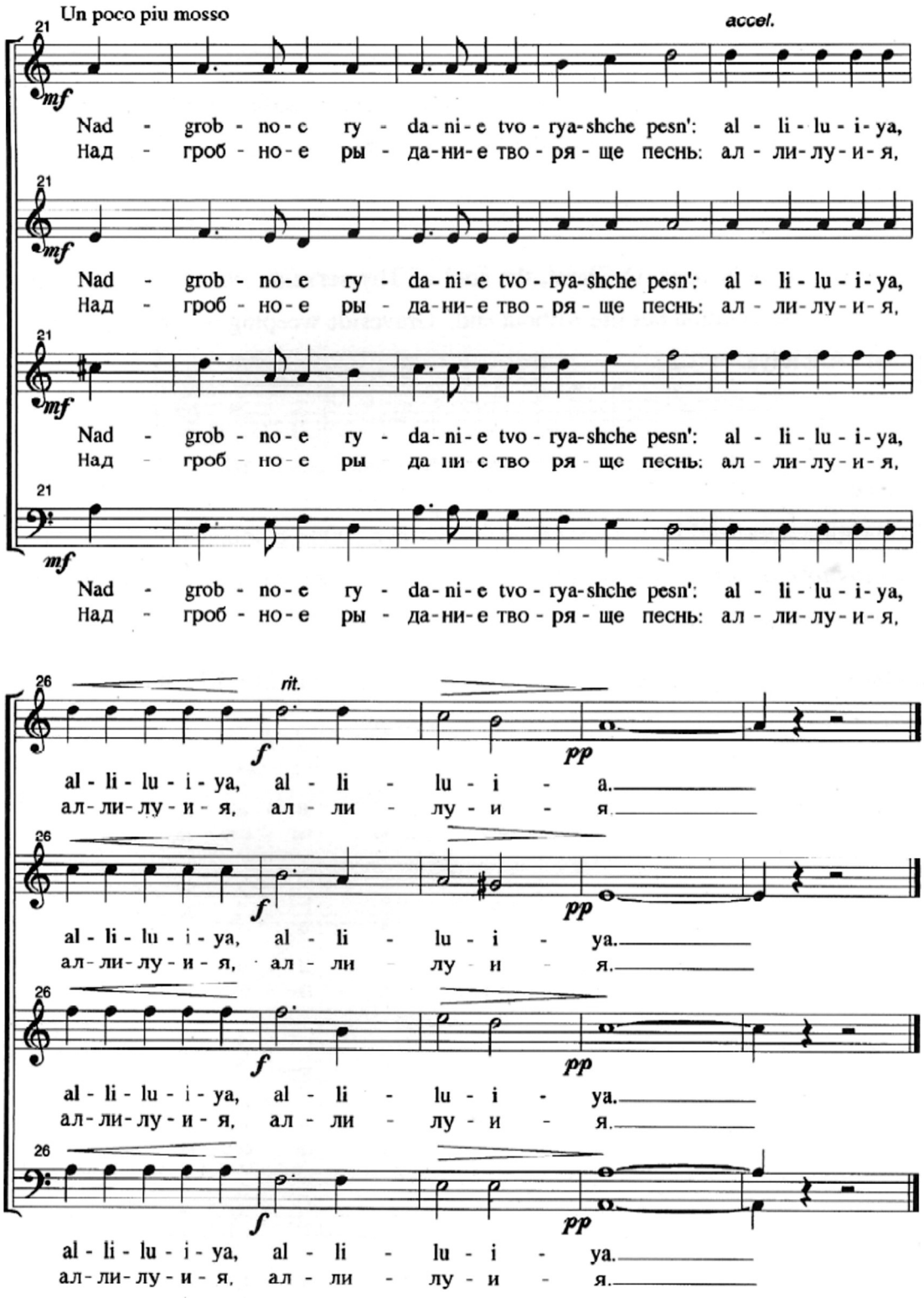

Figure 4-7: Balakirev, "So svyatymi upokoi" ("Rest with the Holy Ones"), mm. 21-30.[62]

[62] Carolyn C. Dunlop, *Bakhmetev to Lyapunov: Music of the Russian Court Chapel Choir II* (London, UK; New York, NY: Routledge, 2000), 67-70.

Translation:

So sviatymi upokoi, Kriste, dushu raba Tvoego, i dazhe nest ni pechal, ni vozdykhanie, no zhizn, no zhizn bezkonechnaia.

(With holy rest, Christ, the soul of Your servant, and even there is neither sorrow nor sighing, but life, a life that is endless.)

Nadrobnoe rudanie tvoriashche pesn; allilyĭia, allilyĭia, allilylĭia.

(The weeping sing a funeral song; alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.)

The final section of this chorus (see Figure 4-7, mm. 21-30) displays the chant-like declamation of multiple words set on repeated notes (in one voice) with harmonic changes in the lower voices. The first chord restates A major, but the C-sharp then disappears for the remainder of the piece. Balakirev ends the internal musical phrases with chords that contribute to the ambiguity of a central key. In the final three measures (mm. 28-30) Balakirev wrote a i 6/4–V7–i resolution at the final cadence, with typical V–i motion in the bass. Several things are evident from this piece about Balakirev's understanding of tonal music. This piece is fairly straightforward tonally, but the counterpoint is less normative with unprepared dissonances (alto in m. 4 and 26), and tritone leap in the tenor line (m. 5 and 27). It is evident that without supposedly having formal Western training that Balakirev understood the use of tonality. This piece, however, hints at the likelikhood that he was not was well versed or concerned with the contrapuntal techniques common in European compositional training.

Part of a six-song collection composed during Balakirev's tenure as director at the Imperial Court Chapel, "Svyshe prorotsy" ("Over the Prophets," 1888) exhibits both Western and non-Western techniques. The formal scheme is more indicative of German choruses, such as those of Mendelssohn and Brahms, in that it begins with a homophonic section (mm. 1-18),

followed by a contrasting imitative and sequential middle section (mm.19-34), and a homophonic section returns to end the piece (mm. 35-52). More accurate to Russian liturgical style would be a homophonic choral section contrasted with a declamatory passage by the precentor (soloist). However, Balakirev's homophony has much simpler rhythmic patterns than the Western style hymns, even in the imitative section. This fashion also resembles the early American practice of fuging tunes, by composers such as William Billings (1746-1800), Daniel Read (1757-1836), and Timothy Swan (1758-1800).[63] Nevertheless, due to the isolation of this repertoire, which was not published outside of the United States, it is unlikely that the Russians would have seen these scores or heard of this musical style.

Balakirev's work establishes the harmonic basis in the key of G major in the first measure in a chant-like fashion (see Figures 4-8 and 4-9). The first two phrases almost fit into 8-measure lengths, which are adapted to fit the Russian text. The second phrase is contrasting to the first, ending in a half-cadence on D major (mm. 16-17). The imitative first half of the B section uses three-bar phrases at varied entrances in the top three voices, over a drone in the bass on D (mm. 19-26). The drone stops for the second part of the B section where Balakirev then pairs the sopranos and tenors against the tenors and basses as pairs of voices that use different sequential patterns layered together (mm. 27-34). Balakirev used a sequential pattern of descending fifths, moving downward by step, idiomatic of Western contrapuntal writing in the top two voices (mm. 27-34). A simple step-wise sequence guides the bass back to the tonic for the return of A'. Rather than being prepared, Balakirev writes suspensions that strike on a downbeat, yet resolve properly in contrapuntal fashion (mm. 3-4, m. 32, mm. 33-34, m. 37-38). The evocation of Renaissance era vocal writing is pervasive, such as suspensions that resolve to dominant seventh chords, and a modulation to the dominant key with a V–I internal cadence in

[63] Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 47.

measures 16-17. The imitative section remains on the dominant, using D as a pedal tone in the bass. In the homophonic, closing section (A'), the tonic returns with a restatement of the first musical idea. This harmonic scheme and cadential structure is undeniably Western with very little deviation. The final section concludes similarly with a cadence following tonal common-practices. Beginning in measure 41, the dominant seventh of V (A major) is prepared with a scale degree 6–5 suspension in the soprano, then G and E are prepared as dissonant suspended notes, this time resolving as suspensions on 9-8 and 4-3 scale degrees over D (mm. 44-46), concluding with a V-I cadence (see Figure 4-9). Overall, Balakirev's choral writing exemplifies tonal and contrapuntal practices with very little deviation from norms. His choral works show Balakirev's sole interest in writing this music for the sacred function of performance by the Imperial Kapella, most easily produced by imitating the Italian style, as discussed in chapter 2.

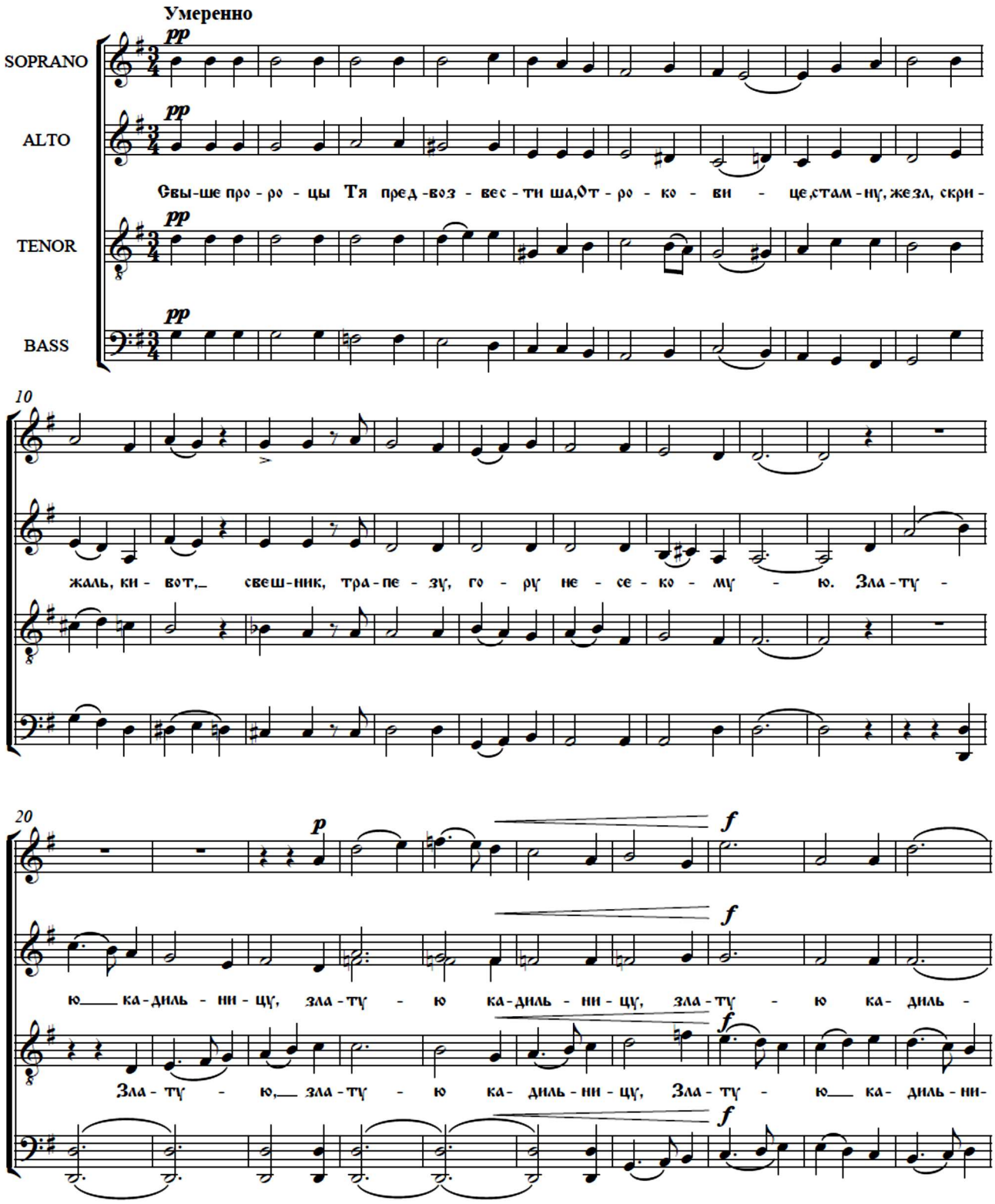

Figure 4-8: Balakirev, “Svyshe prorotsy” (“Over the Prophets”), mm. 1-29.

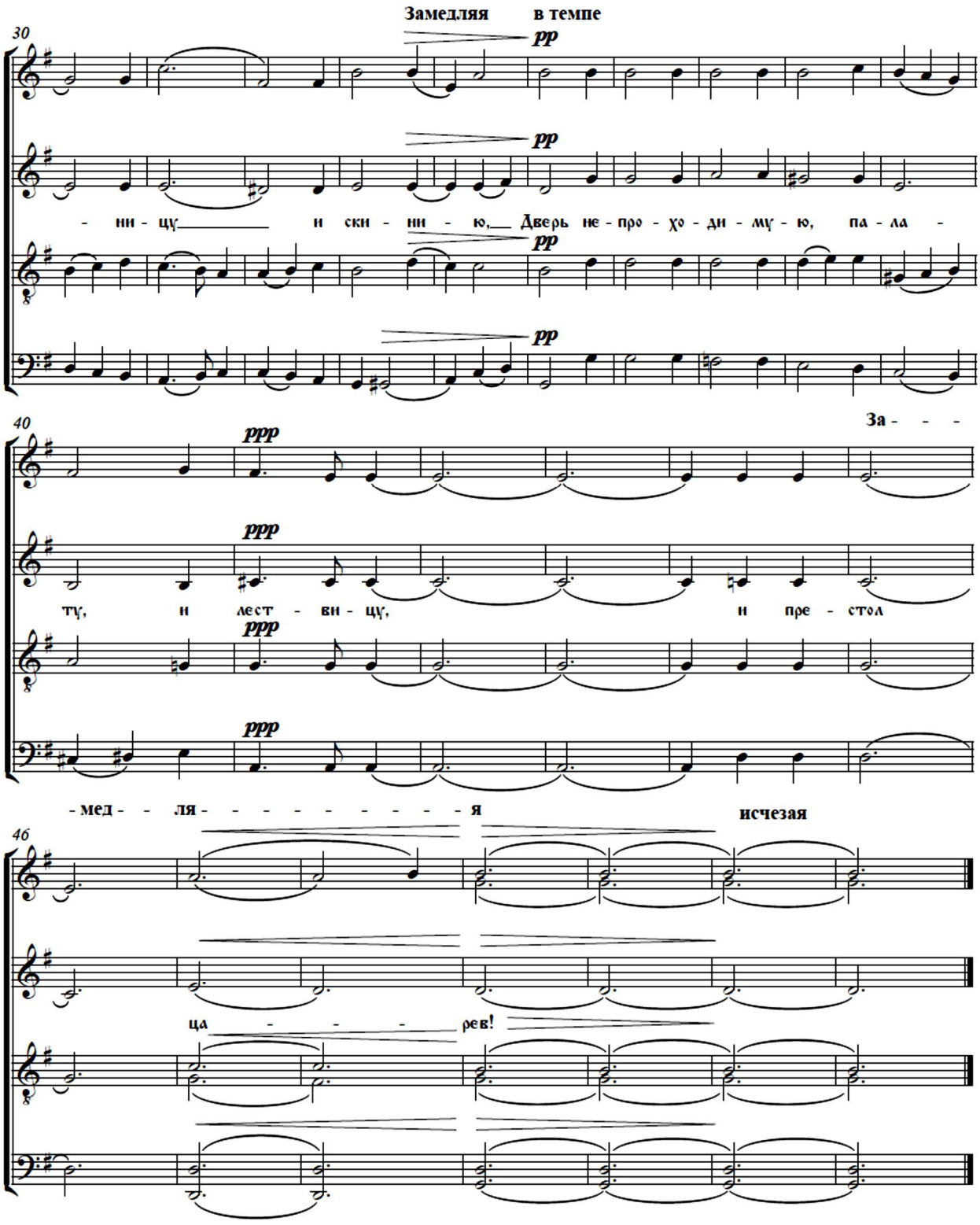

Figure 4-9: Balakirev, “Svyshe prorotsy” (“Over the Prophets”), mm. 30-52.

Breaking the compositional trend in genre, the *Cantata for the Unveiling of the Memorial to M.I. Glinka in St. Petersburg* (1904) includes soloists, chorus, and orchestra. Based on a libretto by Vasily Glebov, Balakirev wrote this, his only choral work with the addition of an orchestra. Using quotations from Glinka's output, Balakirev composed this cantata on the centenary of Glinka's birth, though it was only performed two years later at the unveiling of the memorial to Glinka, and thus given its title.[64] Balakirev's final two choral works exemplify the later period of his life, a time when others described him as a passionate Slavophile and anti-Semite, perhaps contributing to his renewed interest in Russian liturgical subjects. The only other sacred choral works composed by Balakirev came during the years he worked at the Imperial Court Chapel, clearly writing for the needs of this ensemble. He focused on the Orthodox *a cappella* style, using a regional chant, Valaam chant, as the basis.[65] Balakirev produced the majority of his choral works following the stylistic and textual demands of either his employer or individual consumer, with the exception of his last two works, which came after his professional retirement. In summary, his choices of genre, instrumentation, and style reflect the interests of those for whom he composed choral music. Overall, his choral output combines Western-style harmonic and contrapuntal idioms, with melodies suggesting Russian folk-tunes or imitating Orthodox singing traditions.

[64] David Brown and Gerald Abraham, *Russian Masters* (London, UK: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1986), 88.
[65] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*, 73. Valaam chant is a singing tradition with features from both Byzantine and znamenny chant styles, unique to the monastery of Valaam in Kareliia, Russia, which spread to various Russian parishes throughout the twentieth century.

Composers with Various Patrons

Also associated with the Balakirev circle in St. Petersburg, Anatoly Liadov (1855-1914) made a career employed by three major institutions, best remembered as a teacher of Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953). Liadov taught theory at the St. Petersburg Conservatory from 1878 to 1906, simultaneously teaching at the Imperial Court Chapel beginning in 1884. His earliest choral work appears during his tenure at the Conservatory, among a large number of German faculty members: the final scene from a Schiller tragedy (*Die Braut von Messina*) arranged for soloists, chorus, and orchestra. While there is no evidence of a commission for this work, it is safe to assume that Liadov's German colleagues would have overseen this work in performance by Conservatory students. Additional to his teaching duties with the Court, in 1893 Liadov wrote an *a cappella* chorus for female voices titled "Velichanie V. V. Stasova" ("In Praise of V. V. Stasov"), for the celebration of Stasov's seventieth birthday. In 1897, Liadov received a commission from the Imperial Geographical Society to collect folk songs, which he chose to employ in piano arrangements and orchestral tone poems, rather than choral settings. Other choral works that functioned in service of specific events, or dedications include "Proshchal′naia pesn′ vospitannits Instituta imperatritsï Mariĭ" ("Farewell Song of the Pupils of the Empress Maria Institute"), and the 1903 "Hymn" for the unveiling of the statue of Rubinstein in the St. Petersburg Conservatory.

Following his retirement in 1906, Liadov wrote his only sacred choral work, a collection of unaccompanied *Obikhod* chant arrangements.[66] This collection exemplifies Orthodox liturgical polyphonic tradition in both part-writing and the use of Church modes or tones. The ninth piece employs the third tone of the *Obikhod* chant tradition, with Liadov's extension of

[66]Anatoly Liadov, *Desiat Perelozhenii iz Obikhoda (Ten Settings from the Obikhod), Op. 61* (Moscow, RU: Unknown, 1910).

some phrases, retaining the familiarity of the chant to listeners of the newly-arranged choral work. Overall, his choral repertoire spans multiple genres, languages, and styles, both sacred and secular in nature. The overarching pattern of this output alludes to the composition of choral music as inspired by the environment in which Liadov found employment and performance opportunities.

With contrasting experiences, both in composition and profession, Alexander Glazunov enjoyed professional employment at the St. Petersburg Conservatory for 31 years (1899-1930), although he wrote two large choral cantatas prior to this appointment. Most successful as an orchestral composer during his lifetime, Glazunov received commissions to write four large choral cantatas for a variety of historic Russian cultural events. The first was the *Koronatsionnaia Kantata* (*Coronation Cantata*), Op.56 (1896)[67] written for four solo voices, chorus, and orchestra in seven movements, for the coronation of Tsar Nicholas II, with text by Viktor Krylov (1838-1906). Secondly, Glazunov wrote the *Festive Cantata for the 100th Anniversary of the Pavlovsk Institute*, Op.63 (1898)[68] for solo voices, female chorus, and two pianos. In the five-movement cantata, *Commemorative Cantata for the Centenary of the Birth of Pushkin*, Op. 65 (1899),[69] Glazunov set a text by the Grand Duke Konstantin Romanov, written the same year that the composer assumed his position as professor at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. Glazunov's choral writing concluded with the *Preluidiia-kantata k 50–letiiu Peterbyrgskoi Konservatorii* (*Prelude-Cantata for the 50th Anniversary of the St. Petersburg*

[67] Alexander Glazynov, *Koronatsionnaia Kantata (Coronation Contata), Op. 56* (Leipzig, DE: M. P. Belyayev, 1897).
[68] Alexander Glazynov, *Torzhestvennaia cantata po slychaiu prazdnovaniia stoltiia osnovaniia Pavlovskago instityta (Celebration Cantata for the 100th Anniversary of the Pavlovsky Intitute), Op. 63* (Leipzig, DE: M. P. Belyayev, 1899).
[69] Alexander Glazynov, *Torzhestvennaia kantata v pamiat 100-letneĭ rodovshchiny A. C. Pushkina (Commemorative Cantata for the Centenary of the Birth of Pushkin), Op. 65* (Leipzig, DE: M. P. Beliaeff, 1899).

Conservatory, 1912)[70] for mixed chorus, commissioned by the Conservatory. All of Glazunov's choral output is secular in subject matter, based either on folk song lyrics or texts by Russian authors. The majority of his choral music appeared during his tenure at the Conservatory, as a teacher of instrumentation. Likely composing freely thanks to his professional success, Glazunov's choral output reveals personal decisions to base his choral works on Russian subjects. Nonetheless, his works remained consistent with the Conservatory's primary goals, particularly post 1890, to advance the recognition of Russian music among the international classical repertoire.

The choral music repertoire of Sergei Liapunov (1859-1924) reveals a pattern of seemingly artistically independent inspiration, with little persuasion from his professional engagements. His first choral composition, *Dary Tereka* (*Gifts of the Terek*, 1883), a cantata for viola solo, chorus, and orchestra, written as his graduation piece from classes at the Russian Musical Society, bookmarks his choral output with the last of his works, the only two large-scale works he produced. Over the course of six years under the commission of the Imperial Geographical Society (1893), Liapunov wrote arrangements of folk songs, as collected from his commission, the *Russkiye narodïye pesni* (*Russian Folksongs*, 1894), *Tridtsat'pyat' pesen russkogo naroda* (*Thirty-five Russian Folksongs*, 1897), and *Dve russkiye pesni* (*Two Russian So*ngs, 1900), all for voice and piano, but never arranged into choral works. These publications fulfilled his commission requirements, but indicate that Liapunov had no further interest in these songs. Simultaneously employed at the Imperial Court Chapel (1894-1902) as assistant director, Liapunov did not compose any choral pieces, as was typical of his contemporaries. Following promotion to the director of the Free Music School in 1908, Liapunov wrote two sets of Five Quartets (Op.47 and 48) for male voices. His only sacred choral work came during his tenure

[70] Alexander Glazunov, *Preludiia-kantata k 50-letiiu Peterbyrskoi Konservatorii (Cantata dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the St. Petersburg Conservatory)* (1912).

teaching at the St. Petersburg Conservatory (1910-1917), an arrangement of sacred works for mixed voices. Post-retirement, Liapunov completed his choral output with his second and final large-scale vocal work, *Vecherniaia pesn* (*Evening Song*, 1920), a cantata for tenor, chorus, and orchestra. Liapunov's choral music output illustrates that he only wrote choral music when it interested him, with no direct correlation to his teaching positions.

Though his choral music did not become as successful as that of the other composers of this era, César Cui's choral works span a variety of vocal and instrumental mixtures, on both sacred and secular texts. During his successful military career, mostly teaching at military academies, Cui composed music as a leisurely pursuit. Though financially supported by his military career, Cui also served as the director of the St. Petersburg branch of the Russian Musical Society from 1896 to 1904, as well as a society and committee board member for several other music groups. The variety of his choral output makes an interesting statement about the freedom Cui experienced, not having a direct institutional influence on his composing. The first set of choruses, Op. 4, for mixed voices with orchestra, is based on a text by Pushkin. Immediately following Cui wrote a sacred arrangement for female voices with piano or orchestra, "Misticheskiy khor," Op. 6 ("Mystical Chorus," 1871).[71] Following an unusual pattern, Cui composed Seven Choruses, Op. 28,[72] for mixed voices, an *a cappella* arrangement on secular texts, followed by his hymn "Ave Maria," Op. 34,[73] for female voices with piano or harmonium. Cui's choices of instrumentation and vocal arrangement opposes the typical pattern of *a cappella* voicing used on sacred subjects, and orchestral or piano accompaniments with secular pieces. The only consistent pattern of choral works came during his tenure at the Russian

[71] César Cui, *Misticheskii Khor (Mystical Chorus), Op. 6* (St. Petersburg, RU: V. Bessel, 1871).
[72] César Cui, *Sem Khorov a Kapella dlia Smeshannykh Golosov (Seven Choruses for a Capella Mixed Voices), Op. 28* (St. Petersburg, RU: V. Bessel, 1885).
[73] César Cui, *Ave Maria, Op. 34* (St. Petersburg, RU: V. Bessel, 1886).

Musical Society, when he composed choruses all on secular texts, for *a cappella* voices, of different varieties.

Out of his secular works for chorus, "Sokrytaia krasota" ("Beauty Concealed") Op. 59, No. 2 exhibits some disregard for strict harmonic functions, but in this piece Cui uses techniques drawing from the Renaissance era. Written for four mixed voices, the *a cappella* arrangement, and drone-like figures on open fifths and octaves at the beginnings and ends of phrases create a sense of solemnity, evoking sacred traditions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More contrapuntal in style, the voices act imitatively throughout most of the piece, obscuring the text in the lower voices. The melody is placed in the sopranos, a balance tending to be more common in the German lieder and hymnody styles, whereas in the Russian tradition the tenor carries the melody. Cui masterfully creates a stable key center with open fifths at the beginning on D (D minor in the key signature) following tonal practices with smooth voice-leading and typical harmonic behavior with tonicization of related keys (see Figure 4-10).

Other Western techniques such as sequencing two-bar segments by step and imitation between pairs of voices (mm. 14-15 repeated in sequence mm. 16-17, mm. 18-19, and mm. 20-21 in the soprano voice, see Figure 4-11) tie the elements of both the Renaissance and Baroque era techniques with the Russian style sound of Orthodox chant and modes into one uniquely Russian chorus. One notable irregularity in the part-writing is the appearance of parallel unisons in m. 15 between the bass and tenor, m. 17 between the alto and tenor (see Figure 4-11). Whether this compositional inconsistency with the rest of the contrapuntal writing was intentional or an error (which could be easily fixed) is unclear. The remainder of the piece layers imitative phrases between voices, alternating pairs of voices with continuous motion to the end (mm. 22-50, see Figures 4-11, 4-12, and 4-13).

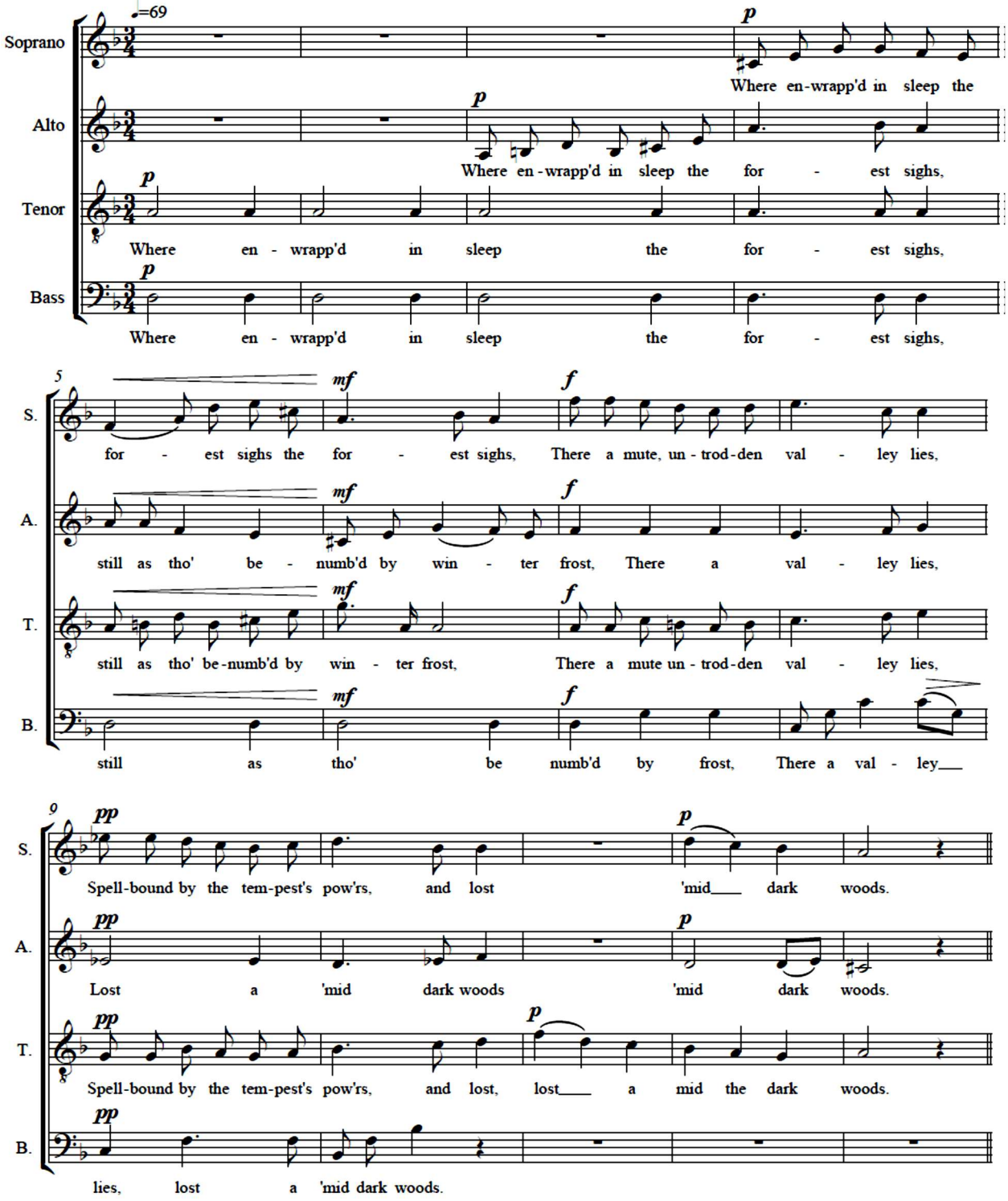

Figure 4-10: Cui, "Sokrytaia krasota" ("Beauty Concealed") Op. 59 No.2, mm. 1-13.[74]

[74] César Cui, *Seven Vocal Quartets, Op. 59* (Leipzig, DE: Brietkopf and Härtel, 1901).

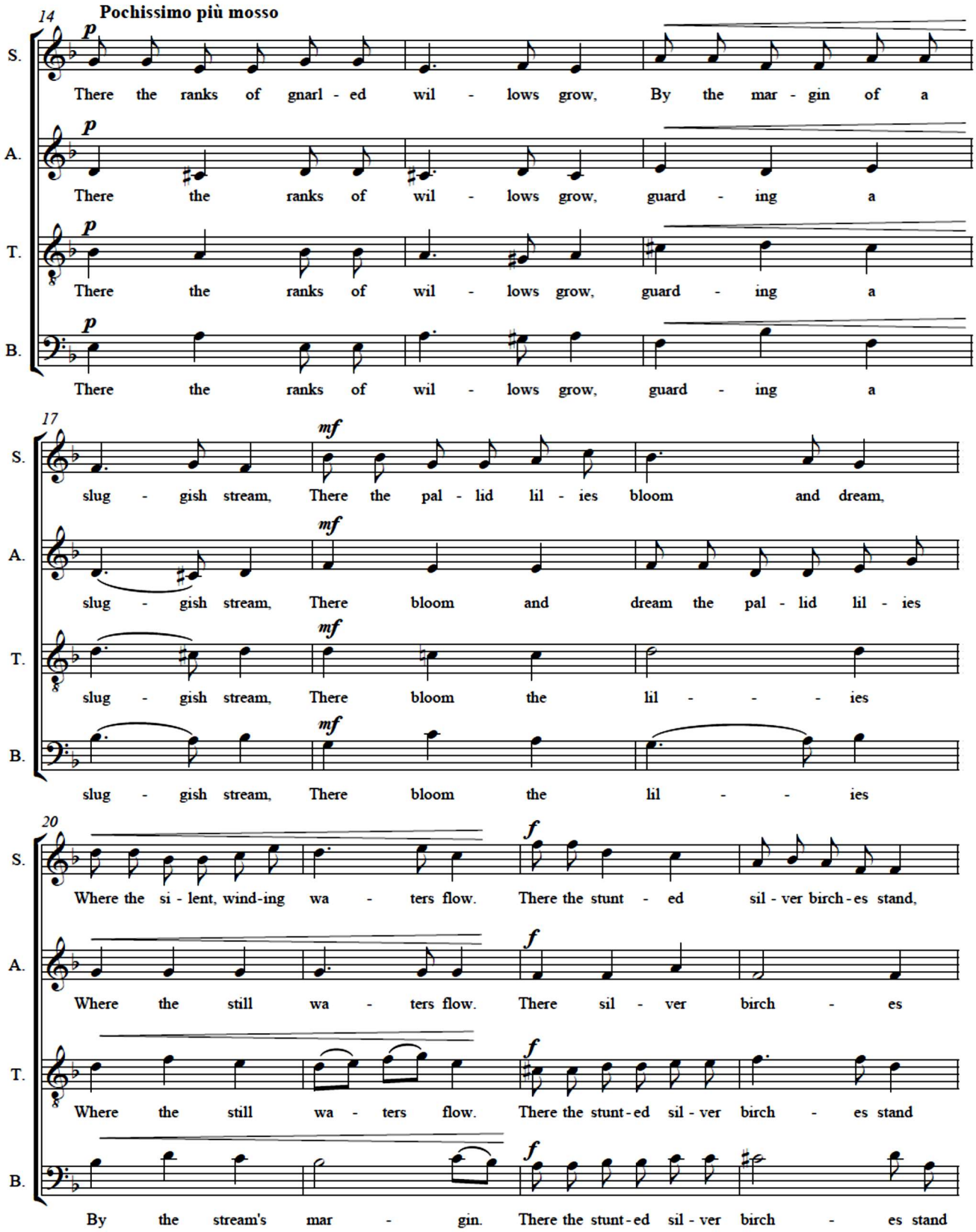

Figure 4-11: Cui, “Sokrytaia Krasota” (“Beauty Concealed”), Op. 59 No.2, mm. 24-38.

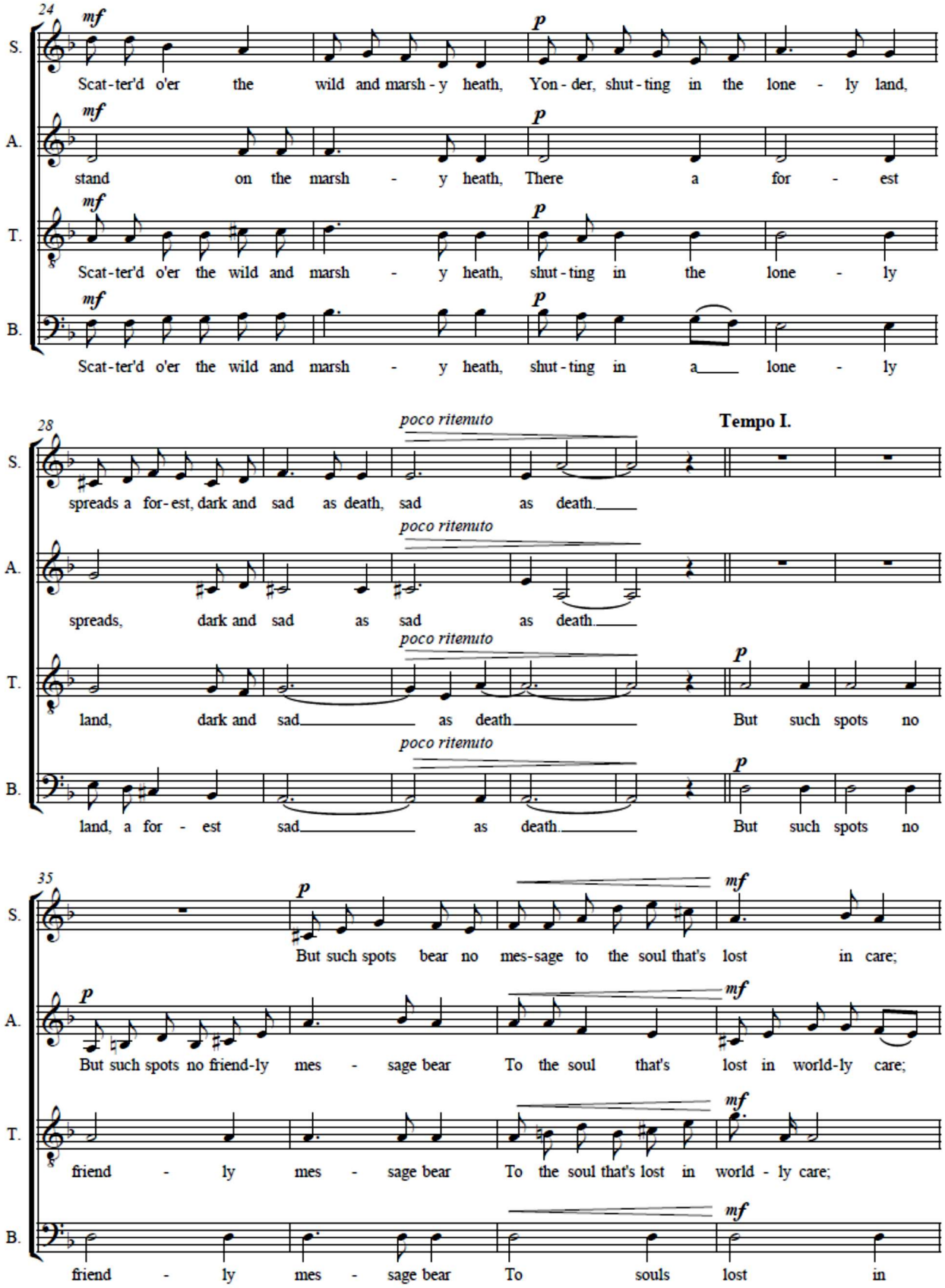

Figure 4-12: Cui, "Sokrytaia Krasota" ("Beauty Concealed"), Op. 59 No.2, mm. 24-38.

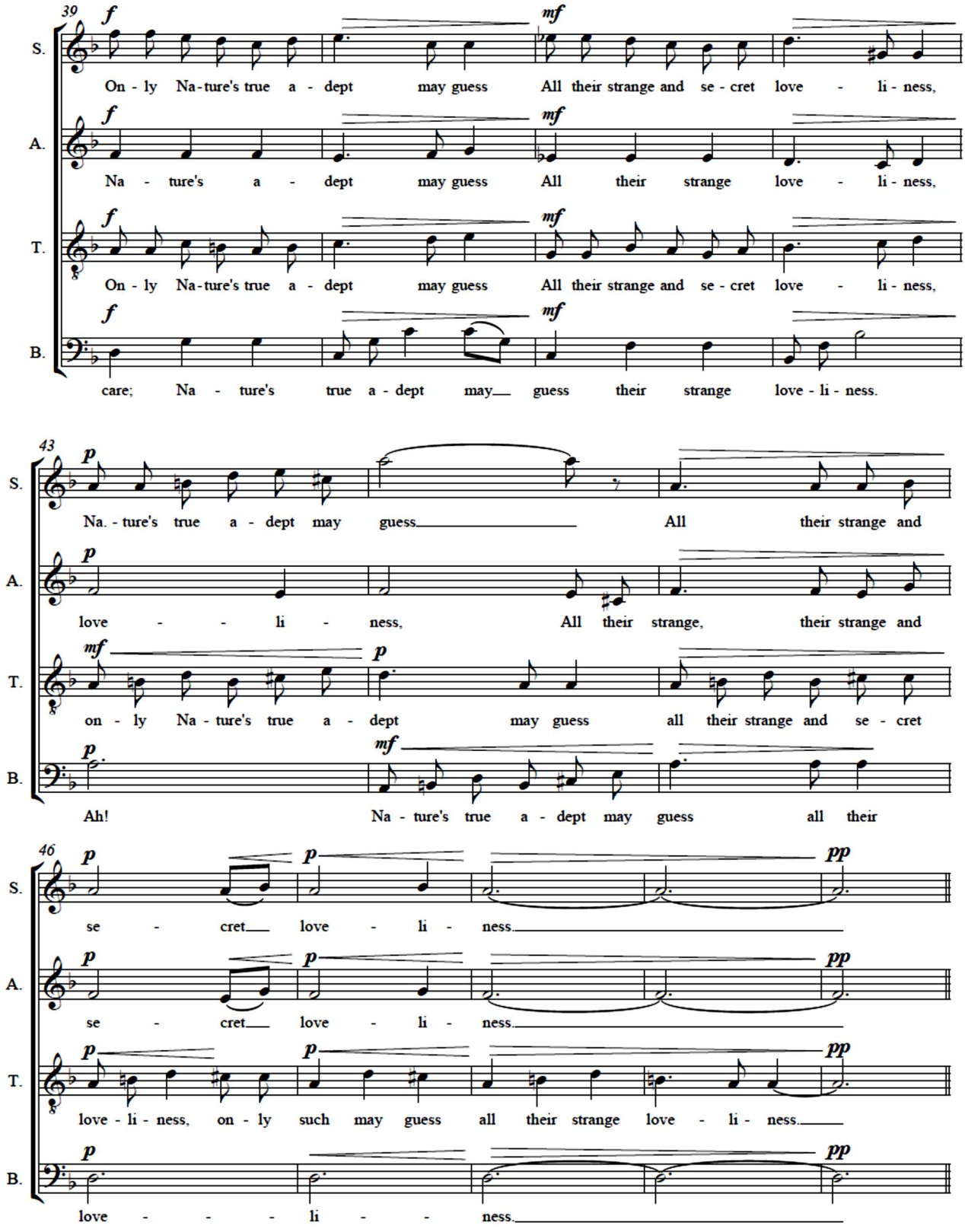

Figure 4-13: Cui, "Sokrytaia Krasota" ("Beauty Concealed"), Op. 59 No.2, mm. 39-50.[75]

[75] Cui, *Seven Vocal Quartets, Op. 59*.

After achieving his military rank of general in 1906, Cui wrote more large-scale choral pieces all based on Russian subjects, arranged with piano or orchestral accompaniment: "Marsh Russkikh sokolov" ("March of the Russian Falcons"),[76] *Cantata for the 300th Anniversary of the Romanov Dynasty*, Op. 89,[77] and *Tvoy stikh* (*Your Poetic Art*), Op. 96,[78] a cantata in memory of Lermontov. Cui's Cantata, Op. 89, is about nine minutes in length, with seven sections and one instrumental interlude. This type of block structure can also be seen in the "Coronation Scene" from Mussorgsky's opera *Boris Godunov*, and programmatic Russian symphonic works from this era. Each section varies using an assortment of voice settings, alternating between chorus and solo, declamatory and lyrical sections, accompanied by varied portions of blocked or broken chord patterns. The only return of material comes with the restatement of the first choral theme, both times in the "tonic" F major. While F major acts as the bookends of these musical sections, the internal sections use E-flat major, A-flat major, and E major as established key centers with resolute cadences in each. The distant harmonic relations between these keys are characteristic of other contemporary progressive Russian composers.

Sprinkled between the years of the large-scale works, Cui composed Thirteen Choruses, Op. 85, for female and children's voices with piano, Nine Vocal Quartets, Op. 88 and "Idut" ("They're Marching"), for men's *a cappella* voices, all on secular texts. His final sacred work was based on the liturgical text of the Magnificat, "Pesn′ presviatyia bogoroditsy" ("Song of the Most Holy Theotokos"), for soprano and mixed voices in the Orthodox *a cappella* style. The *Cantata for the 300th Anniversary of the Romanov Dynasty*, dedicated to Nicholas II, Emperor of

[76] César Cui, ""Marsh Rysskikh sokolov" ("March of the Russian Falcons") " (St. Petersburg, RU: Julius Heinrich Zimmermann, 1912).
[77] César Cui, *Kantata v Pamiat Trekhsotletiia Tsarstvovaniia Doma Romanovykh, 1613-1913 (Cantata in Commemoration of the Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the Reign of the Romanov Dynasty), Op. 89* (St. Petersburg, RU: V. Bessel, 1913).
[78] César Cui, *Tvoi stikh; Kantata pamiati M. Lermontova (Your Verse; Cantata in Memory of Lermontov), Op. 96* (St. Petersburg, RU: Julius Heinrich Zimmerman, 1914).

Russia and the cantata *Your Poetic Art* in memory of Lermontov represent Cui's only two works written with specific functions in mind. Because of the variety of genre, vocal arrangements, subject matter, and order of output, it can be concluded that Cui wrote choral works with very little regard to professional or financial pressures.

Similar to Cui, Alexander Borodin (1833-1887) enjoyed composing and conducting secondary to his profession outside of music. Though Borodin did serve as a conductor for the Russian Musical Society and a chair on the board of the St. Petersburg Circle of Music Lovers, his financial stability came from his career as a successful chemist and his employment at the Medical-Surgical Academy in St. Petersburg from 1862 until his death. Borodin's choral output reveals compositional decisions independent from his financial and professional obligations. Borodin based all of his choral compositions on German and Russian poetry, none of which covers sacred subjects.

Borodin's best-known choruses are from his opera *Prince Igor*. From Act II, the "Polovetskie pliaski" ("Polovtsian Dances") scene with chorus to this day is performed outside of the full opera production. *Polovetskie* comes from the Russian name of *Polovtsy*, the name given to the Kipchaks and Cumans by the people of Rus' in this tale of Prince Igor and his tribal conquerings in 1185. Central to Borodin's setting of music in this opera is the intentional exoticism attached to the Polovtsy using chromaticism, melismas, and appoggiaturas to represent these "heathen" opponents. While this technique drew from those of Glinka, in theory, many of the exotic characteristics used in forming the "other" actually mirror Russian folk idioms.

Beginning with the "Pliavka devushek, plavnaia" ("Dance of the young girls, fluidly," mm. 15-45, see Figures 4-14, 4-15, and 4-16) the sopranos present the first theme, singing to the native land, describing its sultry skies, blissful air, bright sun, and whistling nightingales. The

melody, while not drawn directly from a Russian folk tune, certainly impersonates one. In a simple 4/4 time signature, Borodin creates the sense of a folk melody by organizing the music into five- and seven-beat groups. The way Borodin sets the melody with small turns in stepwise sets of three imitates gypsy tunes, in this case fitting for the flirty, feminine dance scene, and casting the exotic "other" through the racial connotation associated with gypsies as non-Russian. Sung with only a second voice in a slow counter melody, the text avoids distortion, and the orchestra generates the harmonic support. Formed with two separate musical ideas, the layering of voices is almost like a round, where each independent voice locks in harmonically to the other. The alto voices sing a slower moving line, with the women's parts singing the quicker, active theme, an idiom taken from the Slavic round dance tradition (the slower melody was sometimes instrumental, see Figure 4-15).[79]

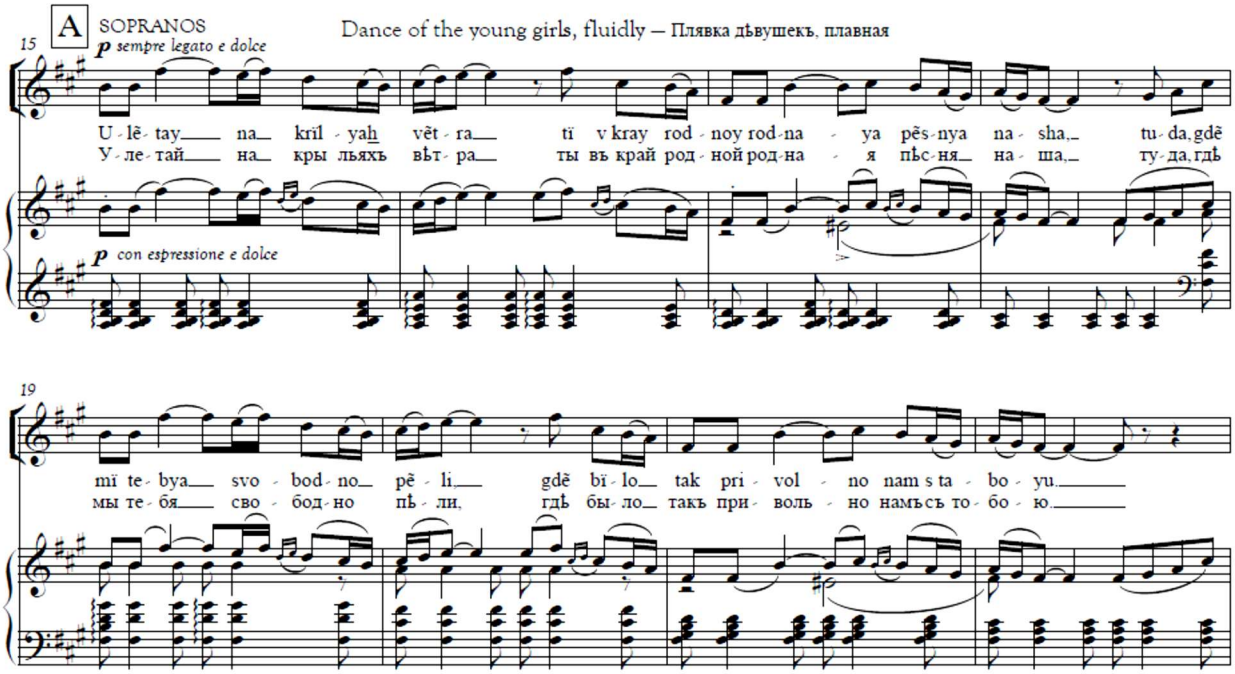

Figure 4-14: Borodin, Prince Igor, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 15-22.

[79] Vadim Prokhorov, *Russian Folk Songs* (London, UK: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2002), 50-53.

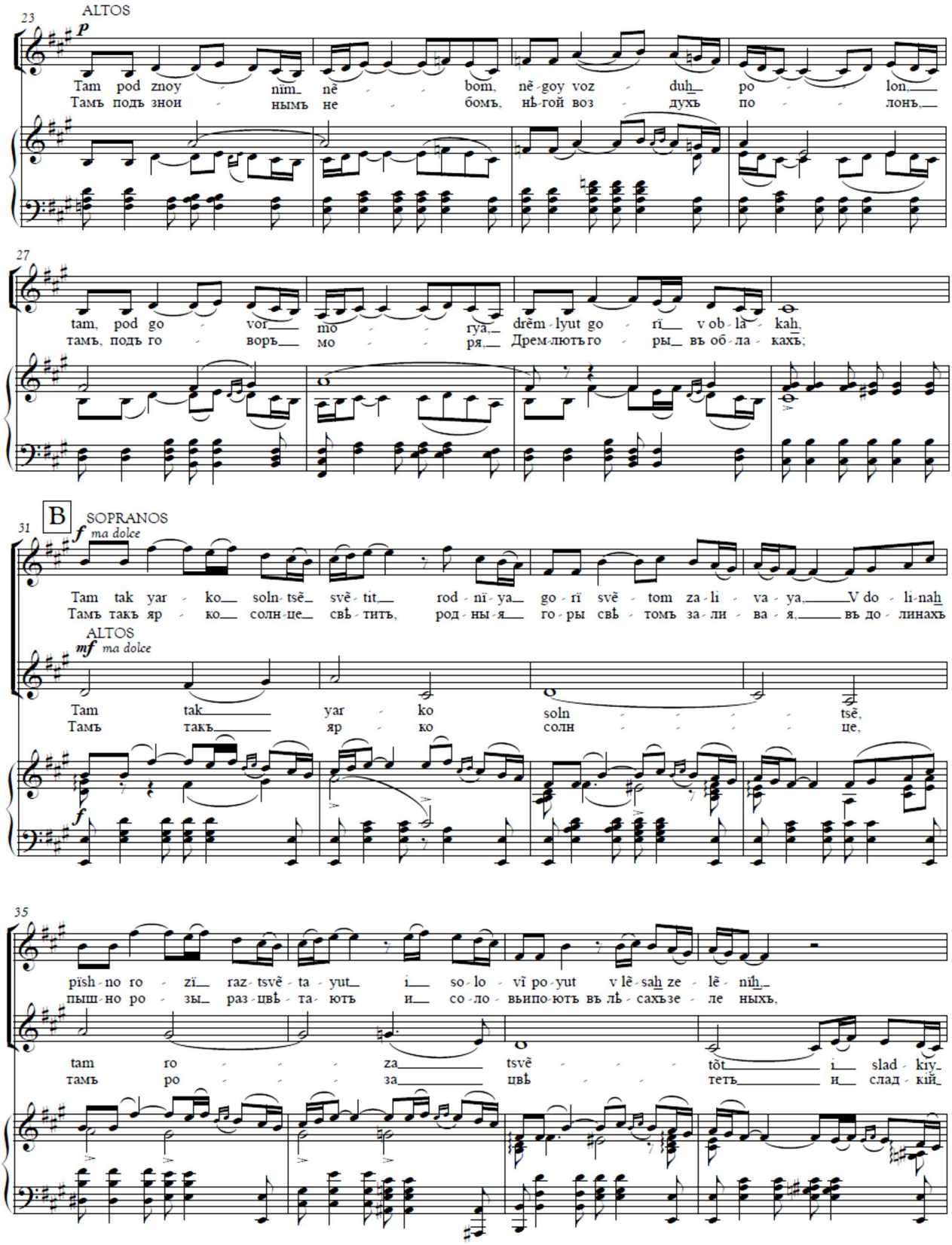

Figure 4-15: Borodin, Prince Igor, Act II “Polovtsian Dances,” mm. 23-38.

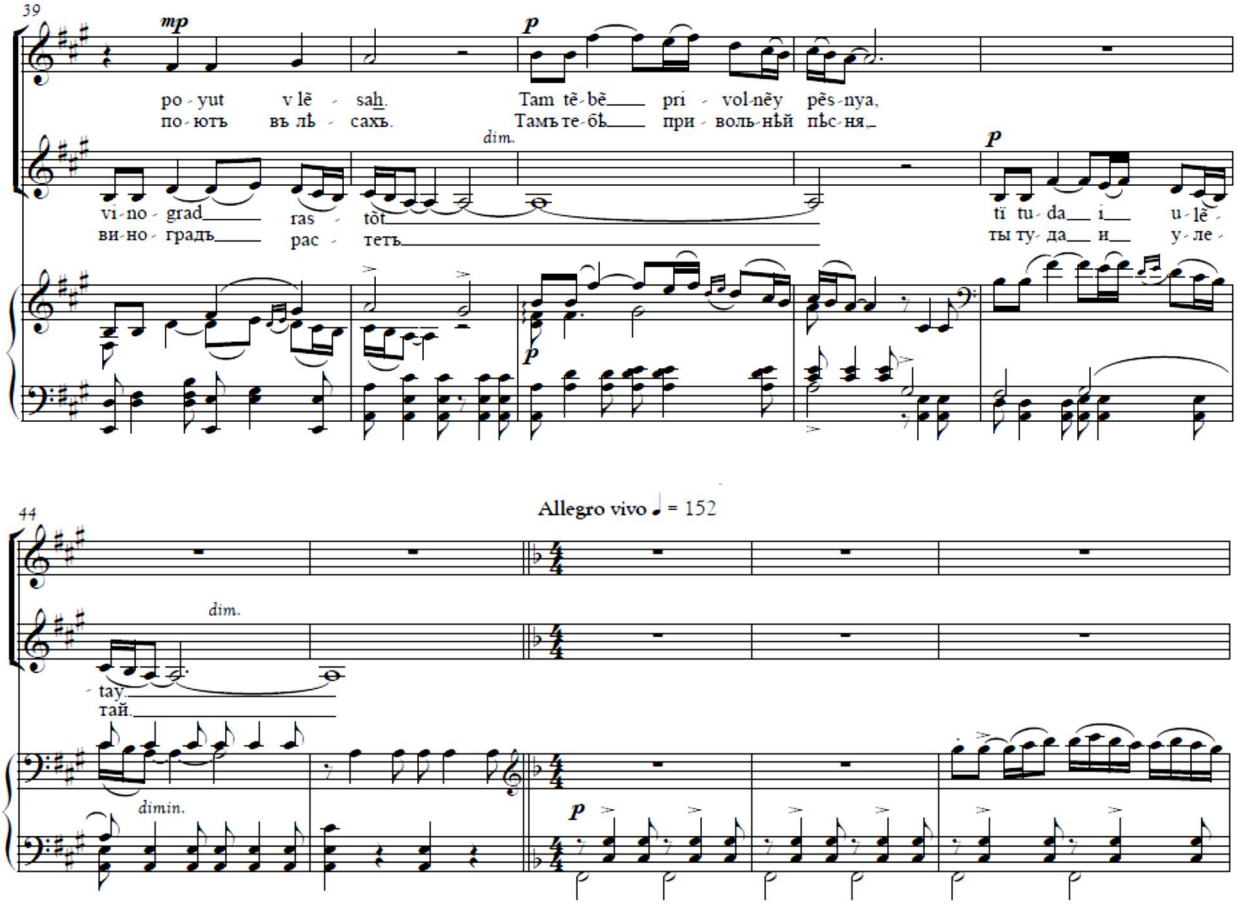

Figure 4-16: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 39-45.[80]

While the third dance "Obshchaia Pliaska" ("General Dance," mm. 91-134) is in 3/4 time, which might imply a waltz or other European dances like the mazurka or polonaise, the melodic emphasis on the second beat distorts the triple feel along with the running scales in the winds underneath fast and vigorous turns in the voices above. In this dance, the auxiliary percussion section comes to life, with cymbals, chimes, tambourines, and timpani struck fiercely on the downbeat. The aggression and intensity emphasize the battle-theme in this dance. The march style aligns with the text "Singing songs of praise to their triumphant leader Khan," and "Give thanks for the generosity and courage of Khan." All voices sing together in a homophonic

[80] Alexander Borodin, *Kniaz Igor (Prince Igor)* (Leipzig, DE: M. P. Belyayev, 1888).

texture and syllabic text setting. The second theme is sung with a five-measure phrase and the melody spans the interval of a sixth with a stepwise ascent, both common in the folk style.[81] Harmonically, the bass line asserts a D tonic through repetition that is supported by the notes in the two-sharp key signature. In fact, the closing at the end of each phrase moves from D to B in the bass, relation of a third or sixth, a submediant relation instead of the dominant with D major still sung in the voices (see Figures 4-17 and 4-18, mm. 95-110). This leaves each phrase open, creating anticipation for repetition. Borodin repeatedly uses the melodic interval of a sixth in each musical phrase. This dance portion closes with the repeated gesture of unison ascent landing on a boisterous, fortissimo open-fifth chord in the praise of Khan, harmonically implying a modal cadence, due to the absence of the third (see Figure 4-19, mm. 126-134). To the ear, the harmonies are not terribly complex; however, the use of non-diatonic scales that have folk or exotic associations, would have been clearly understood as a musical representation of the foreign people seen here, a similarly popular technique used by many composers in Europe at this time.[82]

[81] Mark Devoto, "The Russian Submediant in the Nineteenth Century," *Current Musicology* 59, no. (1995): 60-62.
[82] Prokhorov, *Russian Folk Songs*, 11.

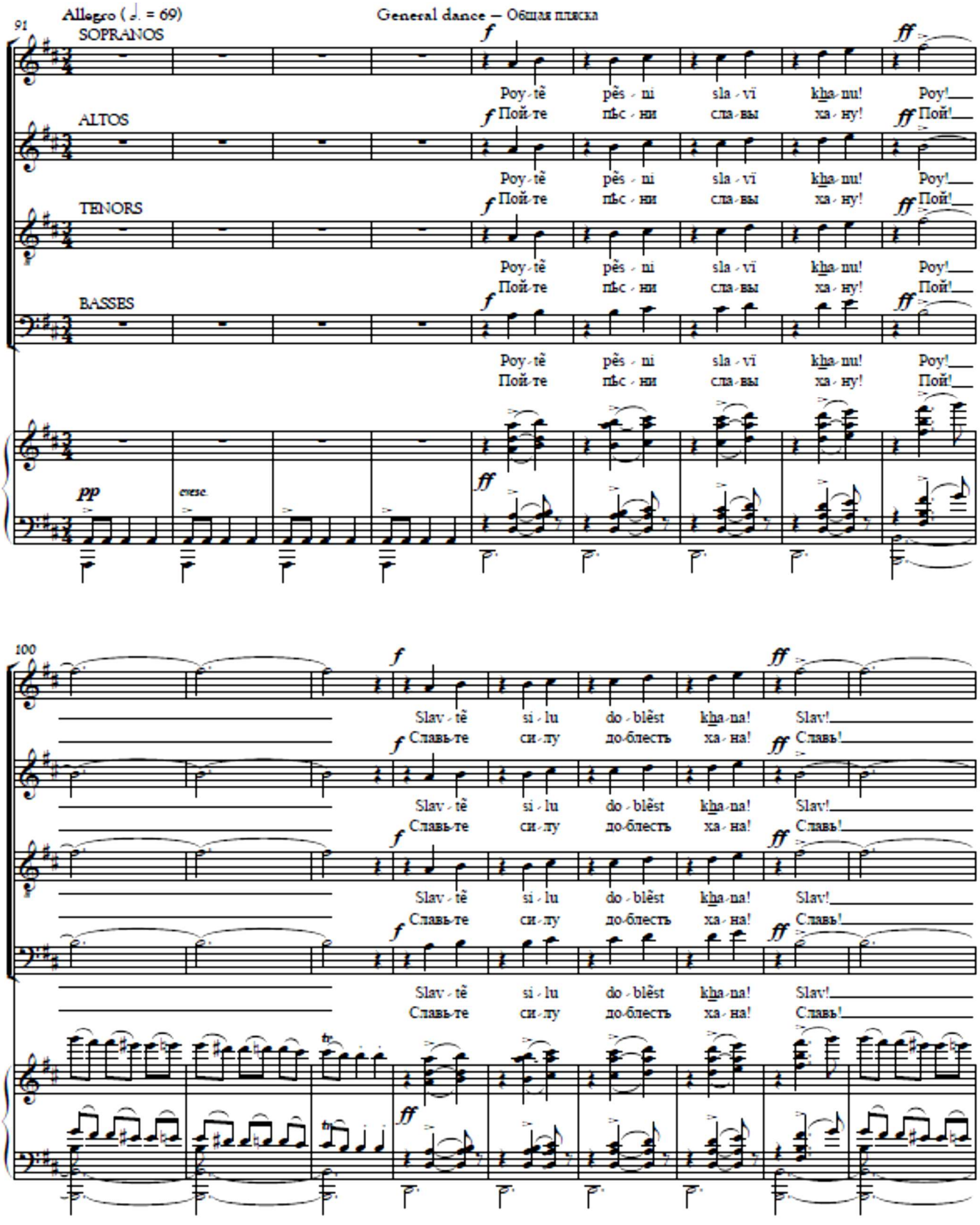

Figure 4-17: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 91-108.

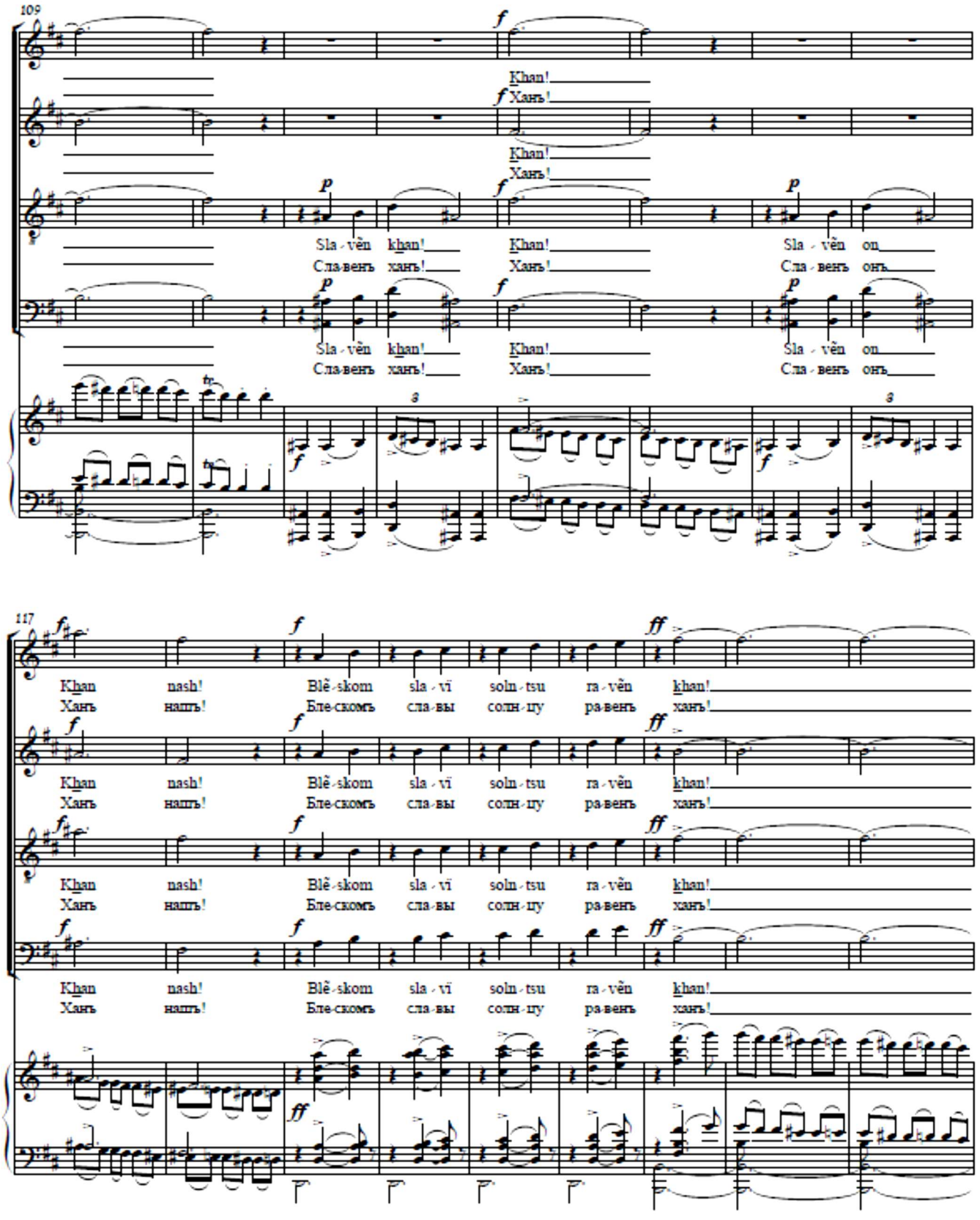

Figure 4-18: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 109-125.

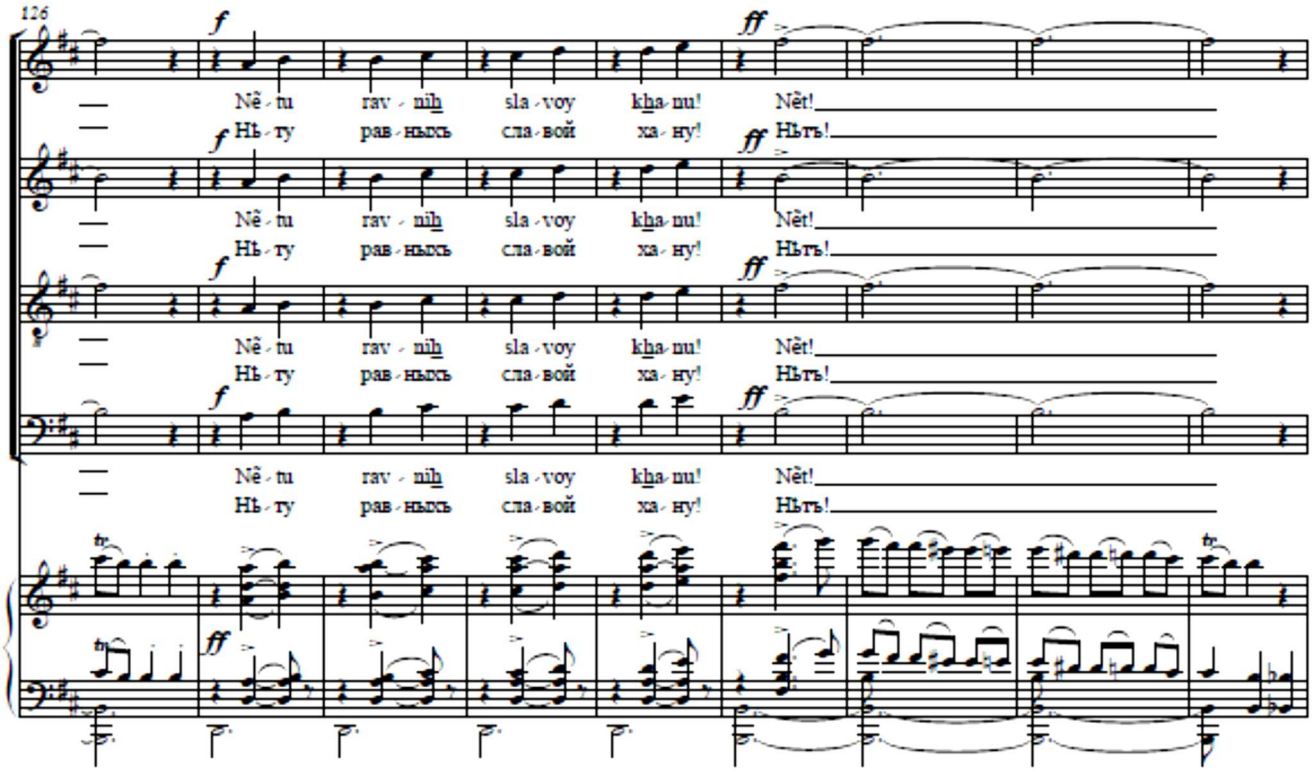

Figure 4-19: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 126-134.

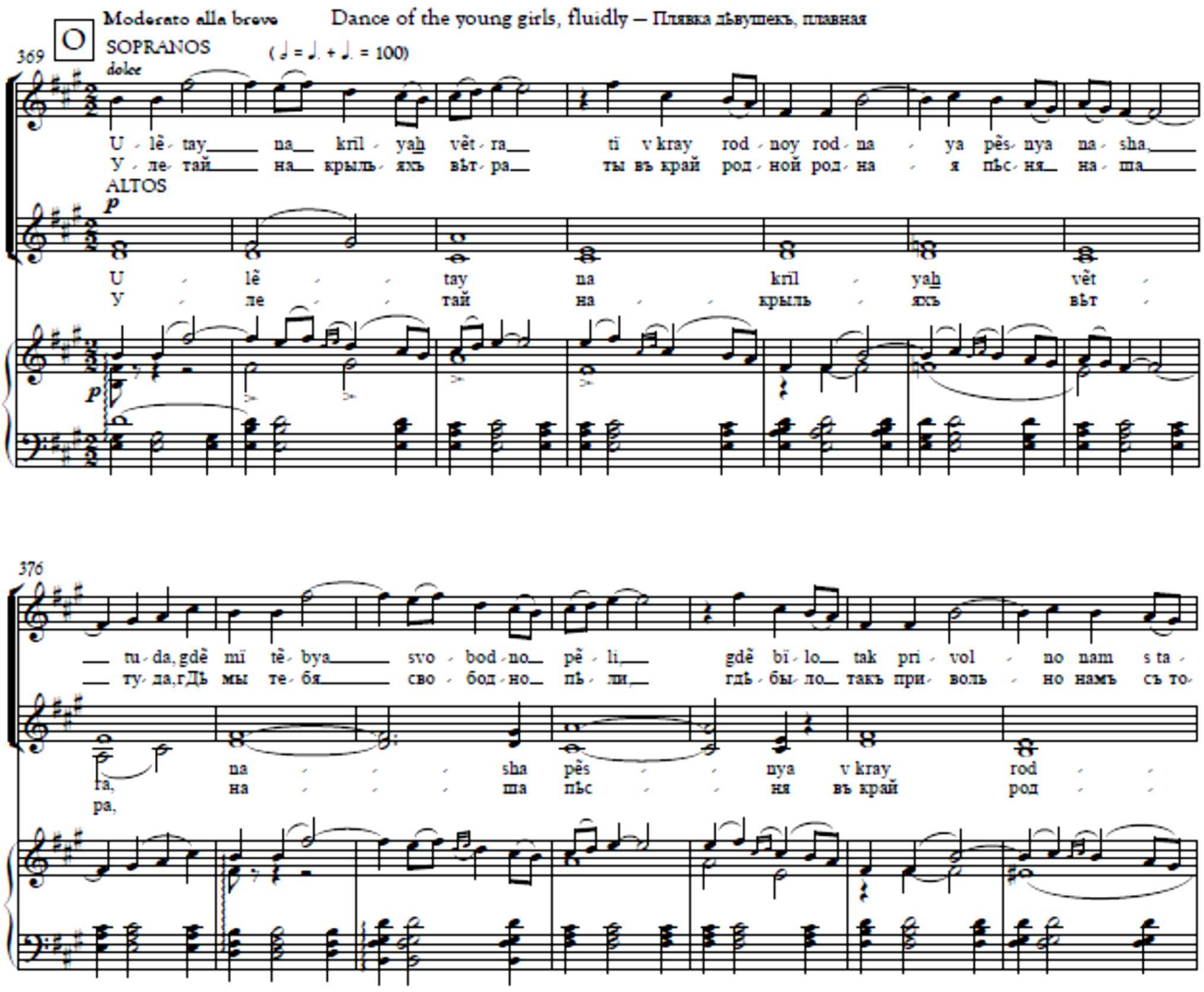

Figure 4-20: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 369-382.

With the return of the first theme in the "Dance of the Young Girls," (see Figures 4-20, 4-21, and 4-22, mm. 369-398), the altos sing counterpoint to the sopranos, albeit both voices at a much quicker pace than the original presentation. When the men join in measure 384, the contrapuntal density expands, for the first time in the score all four voice parts singing different musical content simultaneously. Lasting only fifteen bars, the female and male dances combine and the sopranos take the melody solely once more (see Figure 4-22, m. 401).

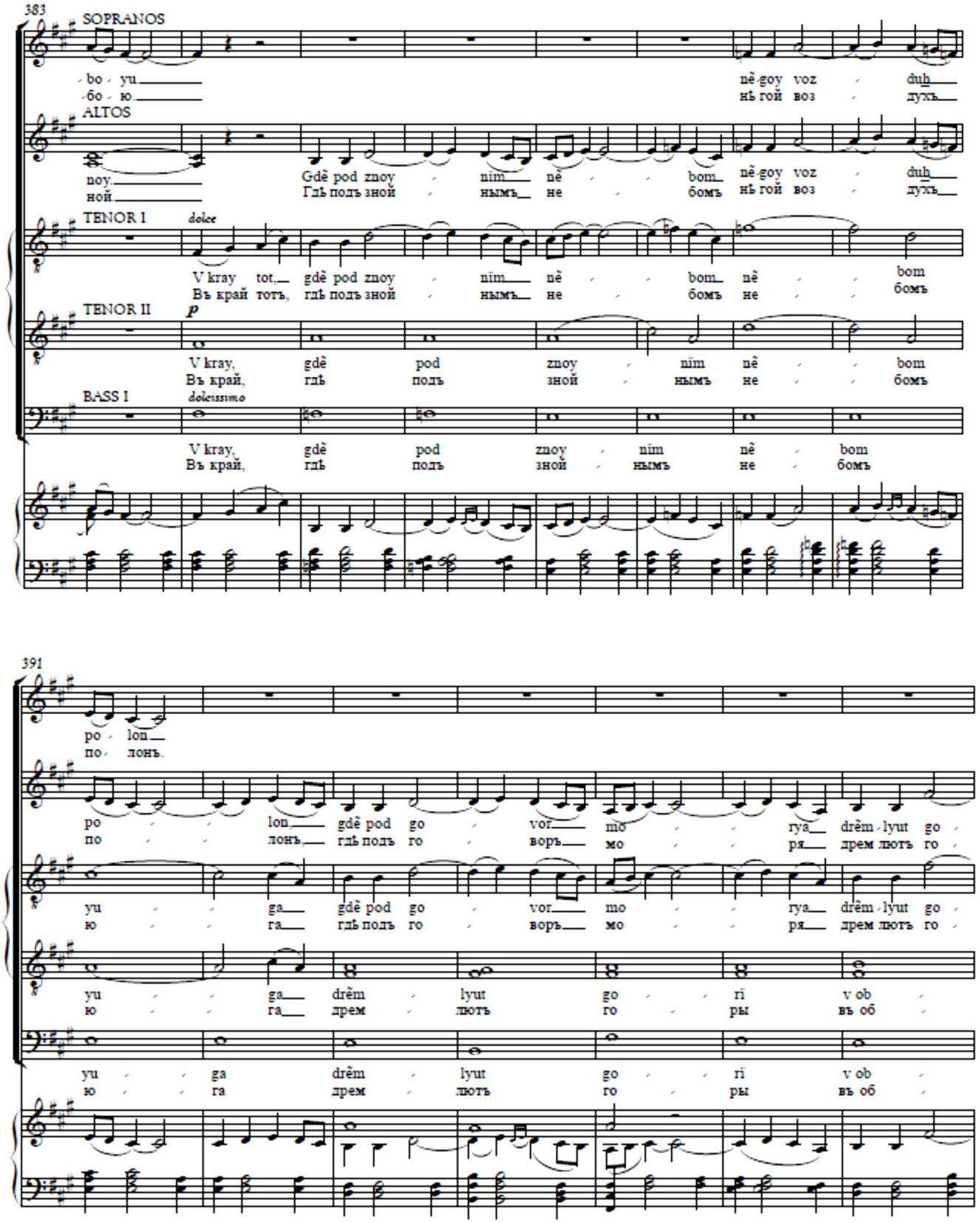

Figure 4-21: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 383-397.

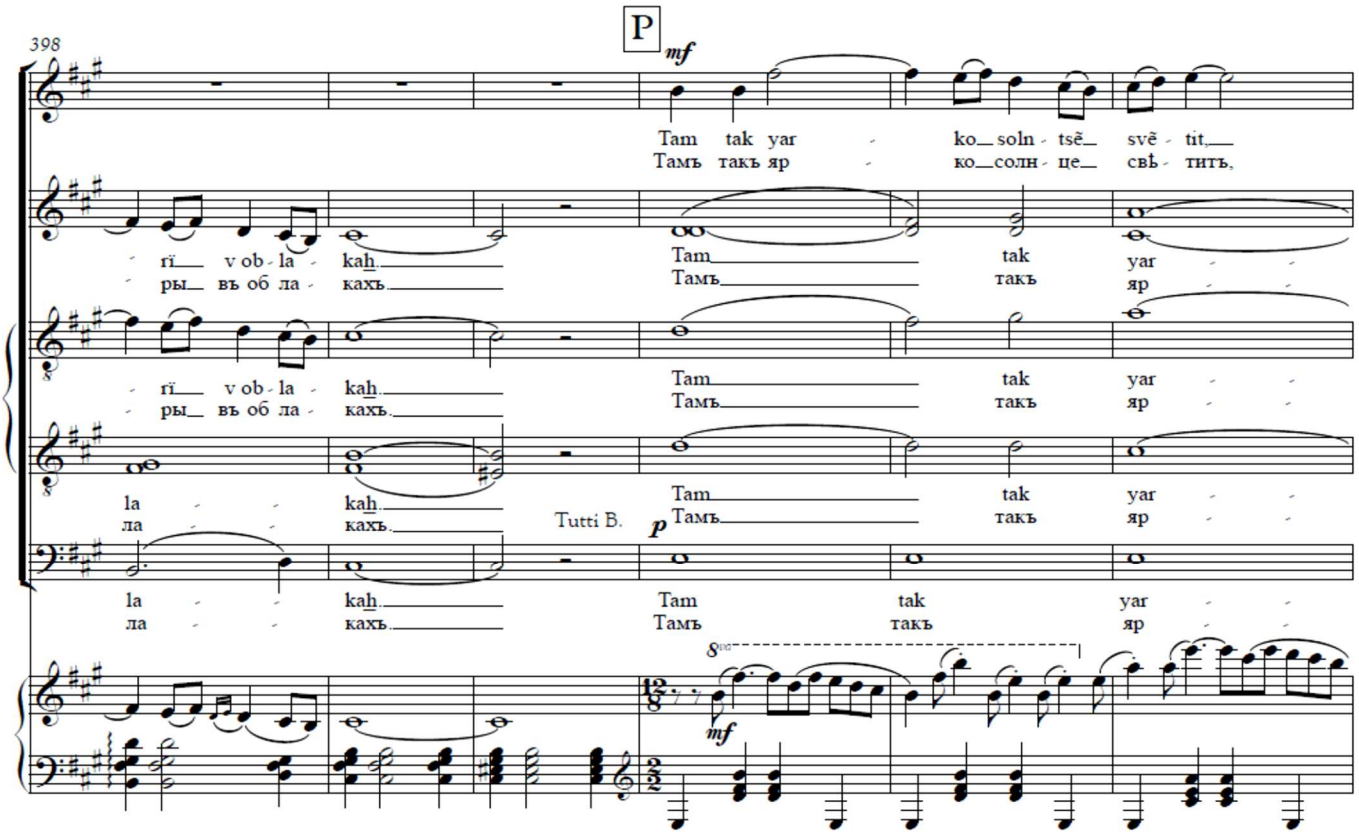

Figure 4-22: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 398-403.

Even though this is not the final dance, it is the most complex of melodic layering and densest in terms of counterpoint. It is only during this dance that the women exert themselves, represented by the dominant melody over the harmonically supportive men's and alto voices, taking a position of leadership though only momentarily. The men regain their position of power in the last three dances, the dance of the boys (mm. 432-468), the dance of the men (mm. 469-570), and the final general dance (mm. 571-629). All three dances dramatically increase in tempo, rhythmic intensity, and volume.

The final dance (see Figures 4-23 through 4-29, mm. 571-629), leading to the end, is homophonic and syllabic in all voices. Borodin uses alternation of paired voices to create a sense of excitement in measures 586-602—a call and response where one group (sopranos and tenors)

repeats the lyrics of the first group (altos and basses) leading up to the return of homophony in the voices on the final phrase praising Khan Konchak (see Figures 4-26, 4-27, 4-28, and 4-29). The note lengths in the voices elongates to half and whole notes for the remainder of the piece, like a unified chant of praise. The orchestra continues in the exoticized fashion with fast-moving scalar runs in the woodwinds, alternated by triplet turns, and heavily accented off-beats to sustain the energy to the end (mm. 603-629, see Figures 4-26, 4-27, 4-28, and 4-29). The orchestration in the last 5 measures reaches the peak of force with tremolos in the strings, sforzandos, and triple-forte volume in all parts (mm. 625-629, see Figure 4-29). Coming together on the interval of open fifths (A and E), spanning three octaves between all voice parts, the ending is the culmination of the momentum gained through the use of increasing tempos, dynamics, and density over the course of the whole scene. By omitting the interval of a third, the ending on open fifths retains the evocation of an Eastern musical sound to his listeners, as seen as an idiom used to represent the Polovsty.

Some conclusions can be drawn about Borodin's attempt to construct the "other" of the Polovsty, through chromatic treatment, melismas, and instrumentation used to evoke the gypsy tradition, with which many Russians of the era were familiar. Additionally, perceptions of gender roles are evidenced through the seductive, lyrical, and melismatic theme of the young girls, in comparison to the choppy, simple, and slow-moving lines of the male dance themes. Connotations of sexual prowess are understood during the portion when the women's theme returns on top of the men's, over-powering the men with their sensual theme and movements, though ultimately losing their control to the savage, wild men of the tribe with their loud and boisterous themes.

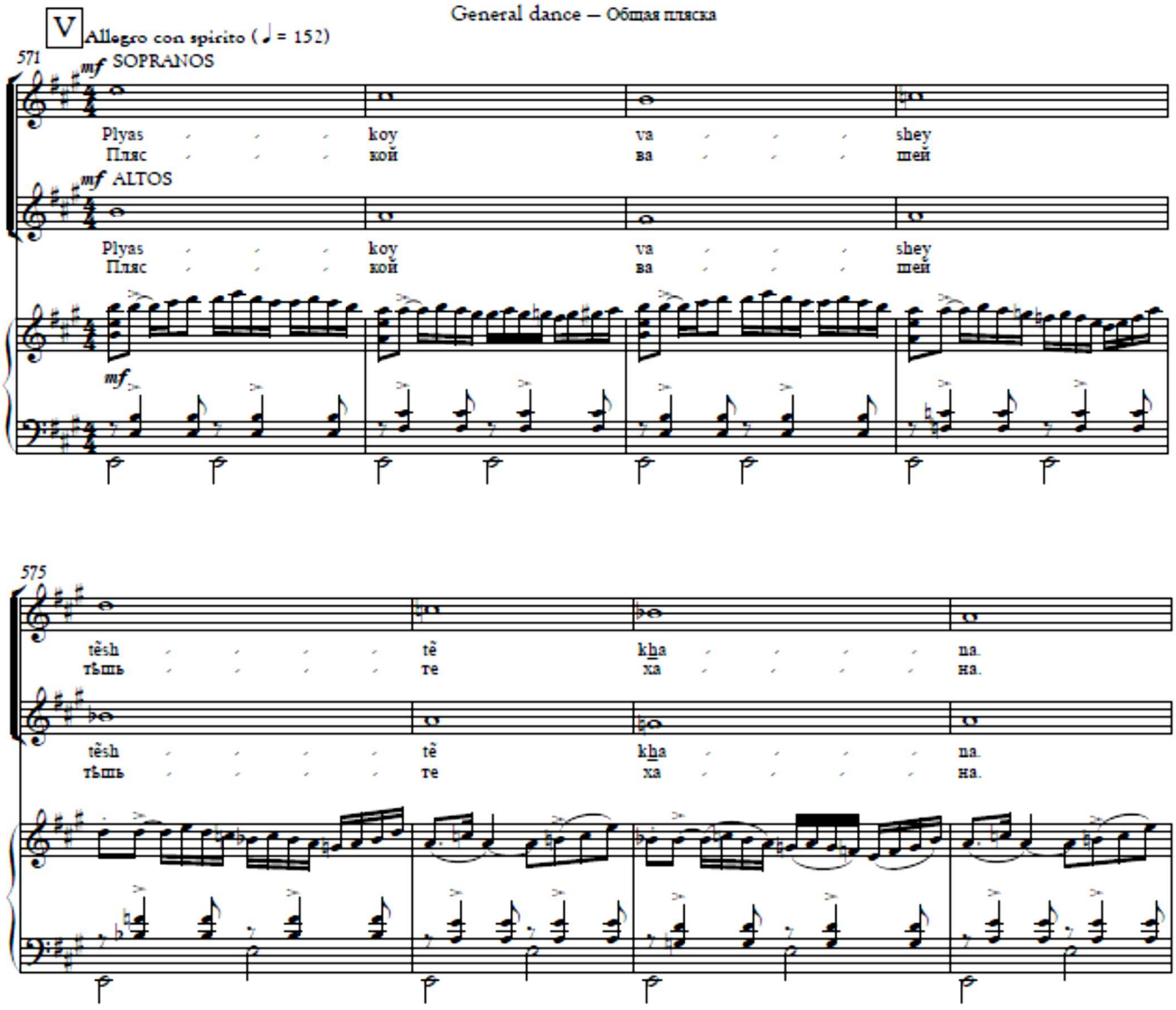

Figure 4-23: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 571-578.

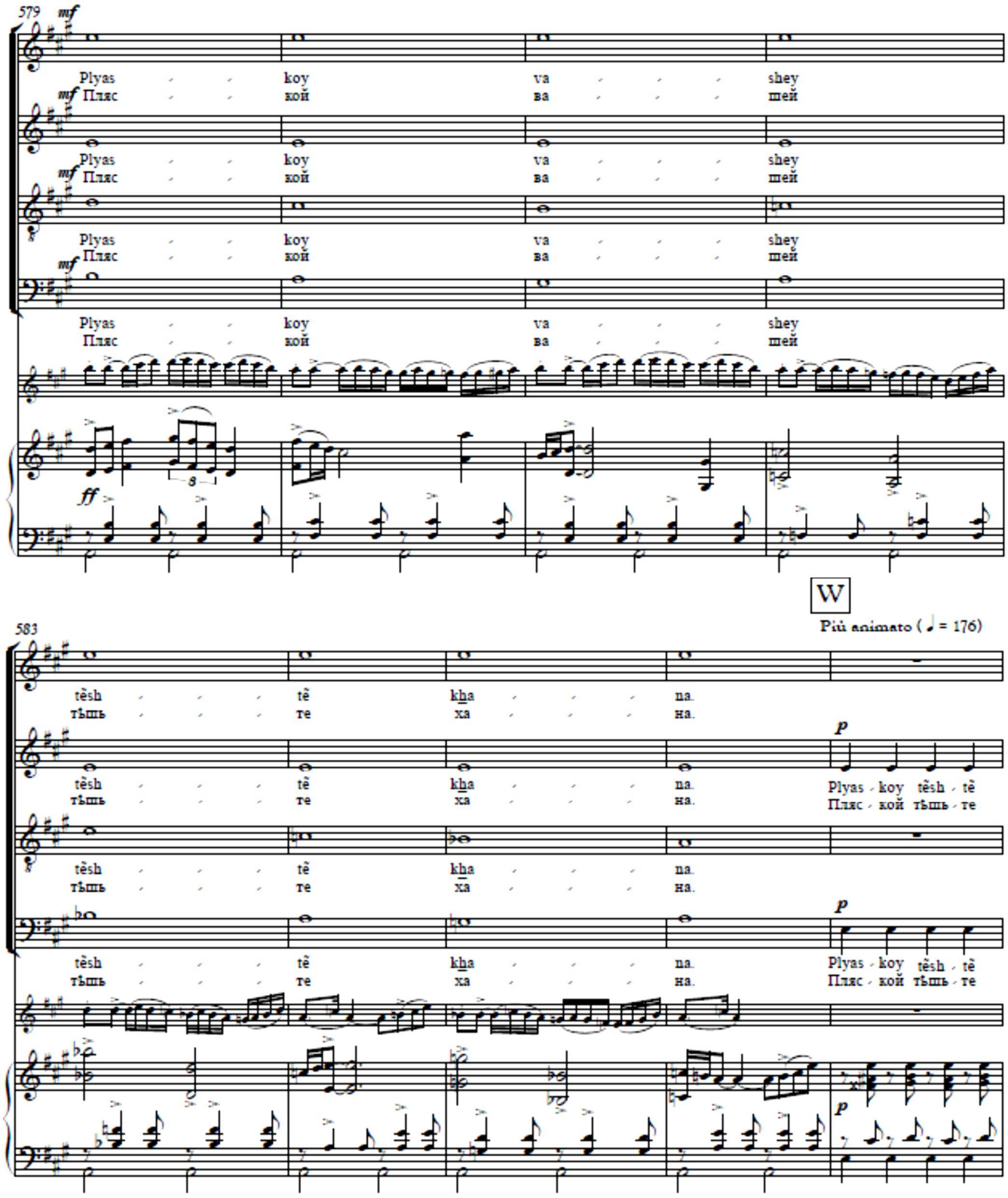

Figure 4-24: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 579-587.

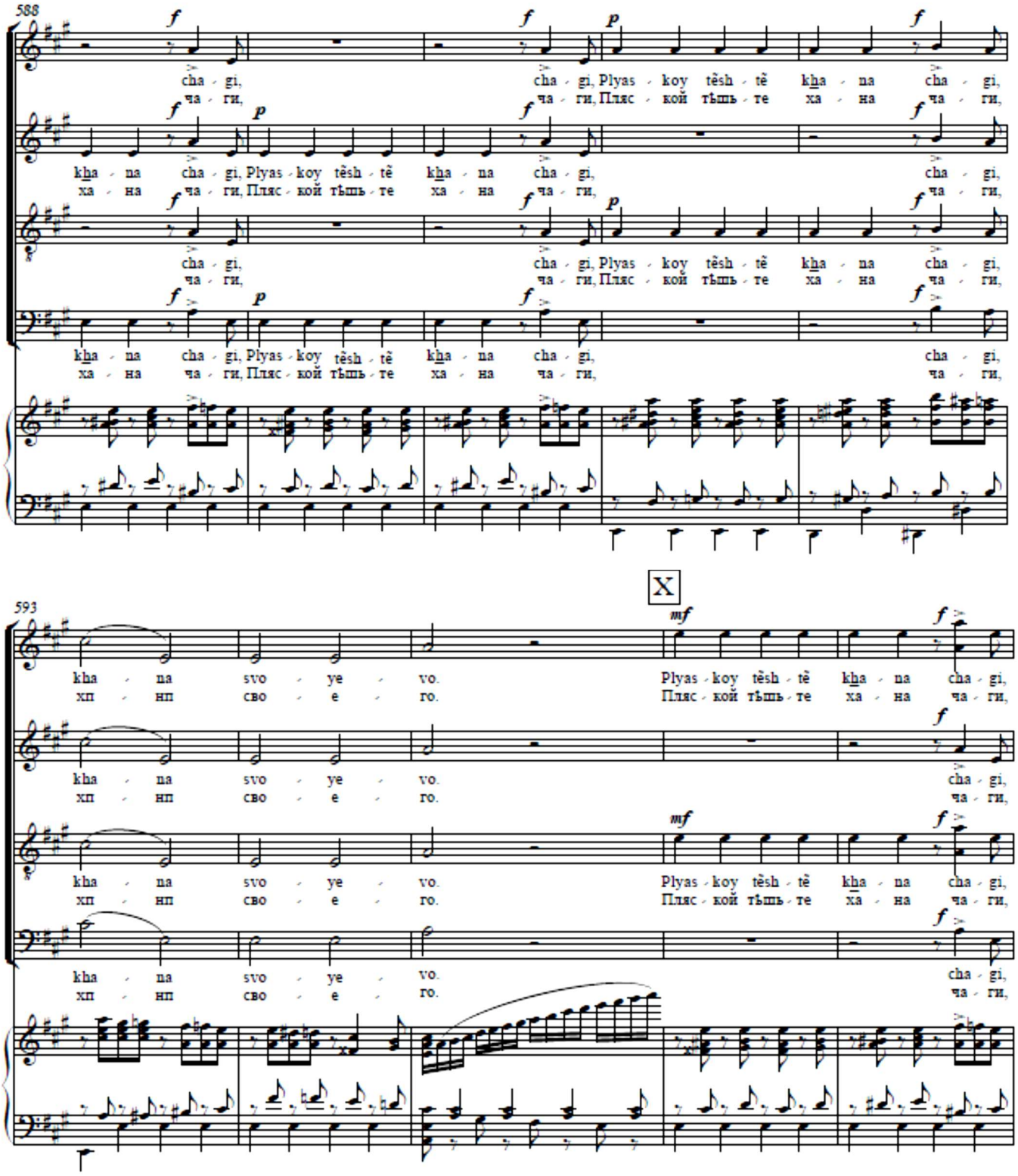

Figure 4-25: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 583-597.

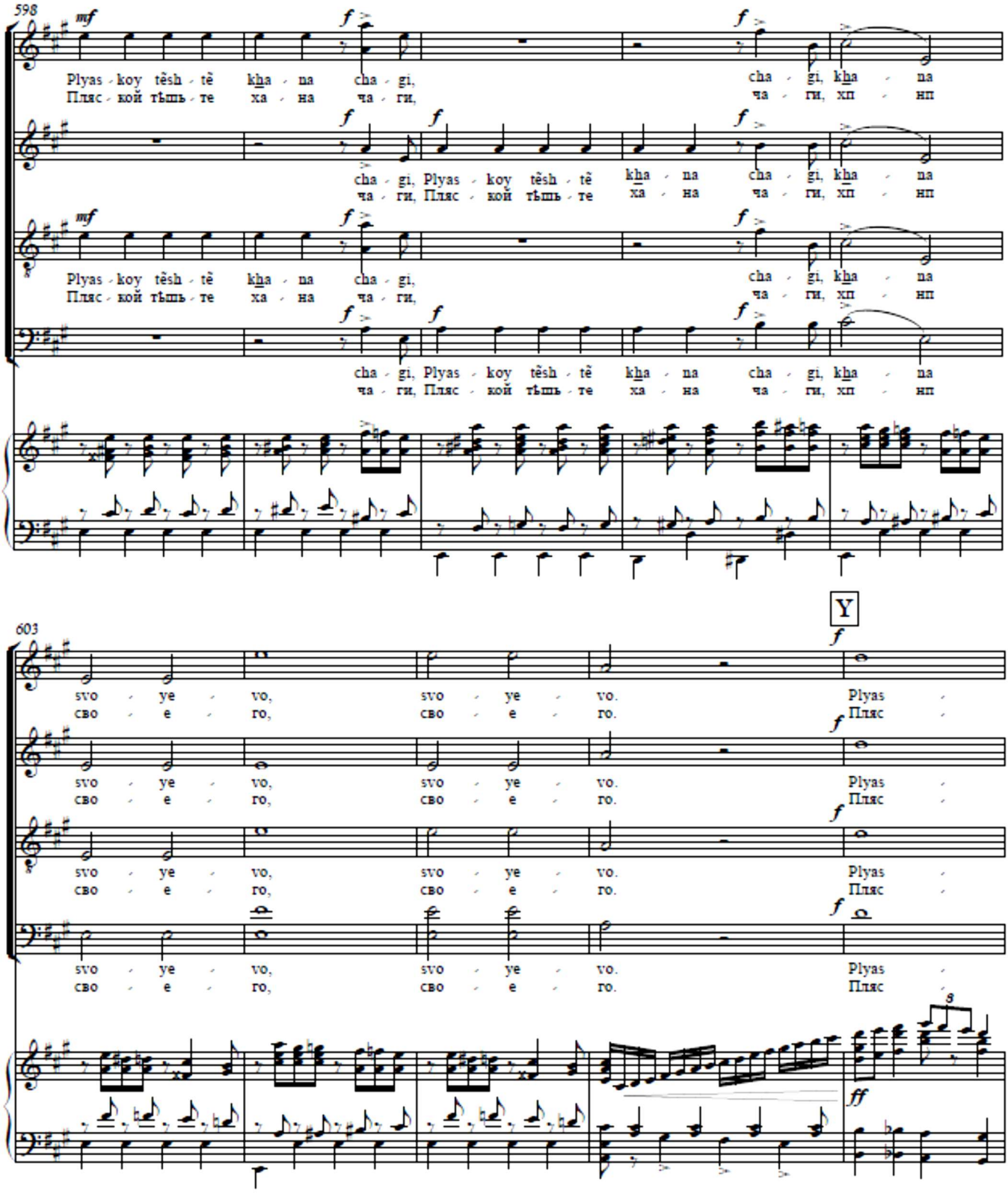

Figure 4-26: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 598-607.

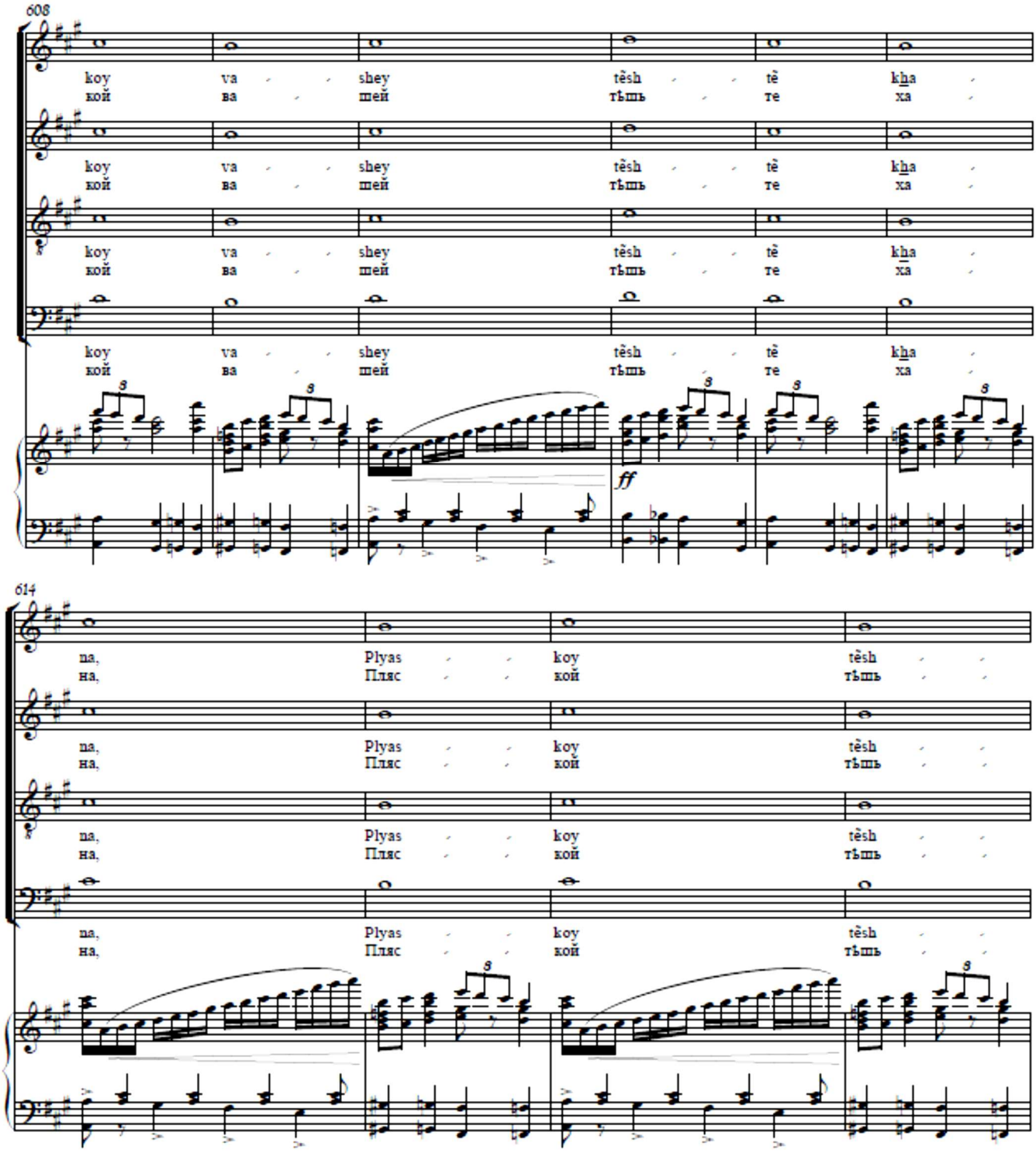

Figure 4-27: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 608-617.

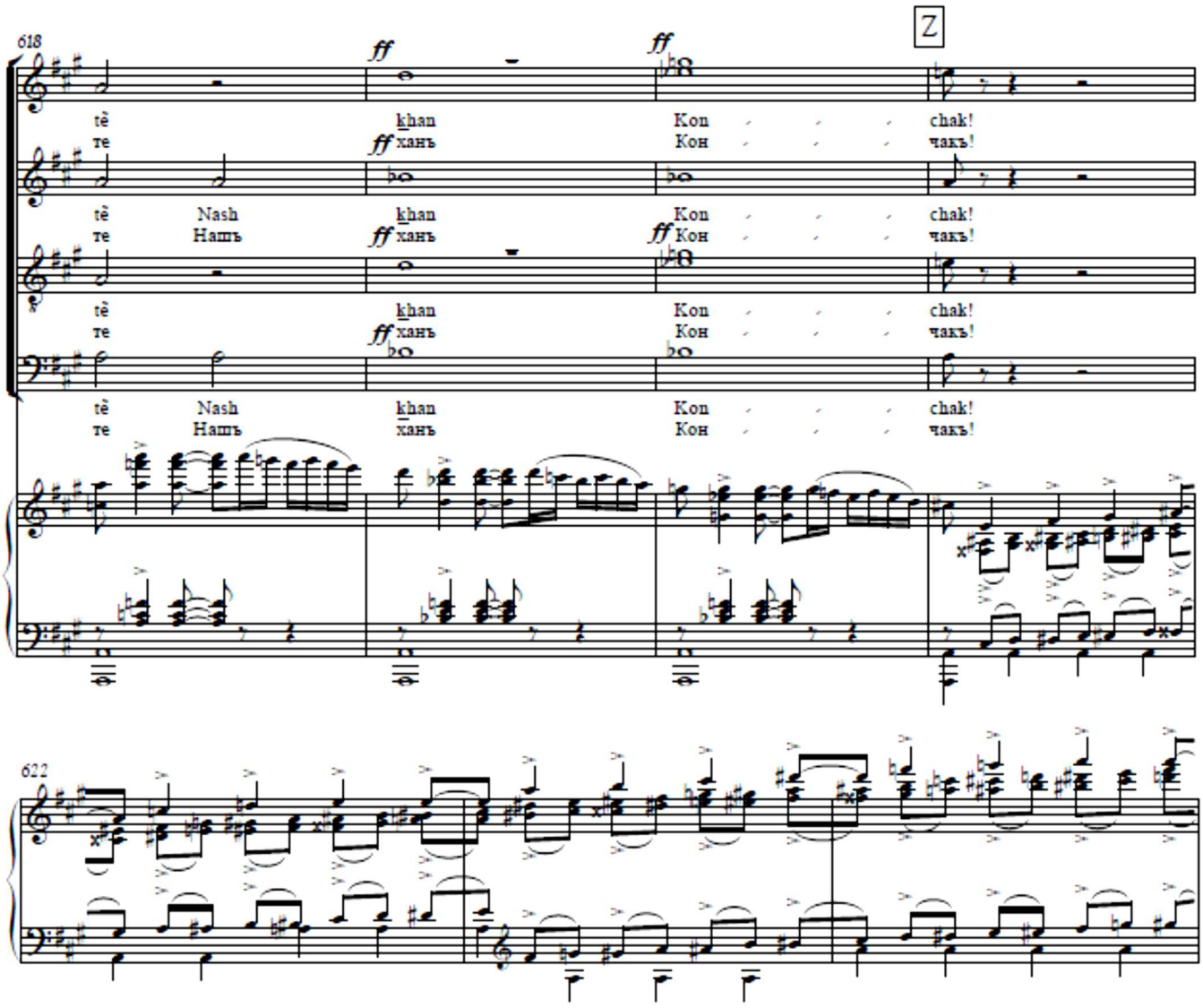

Figure 4-28: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 618-624.

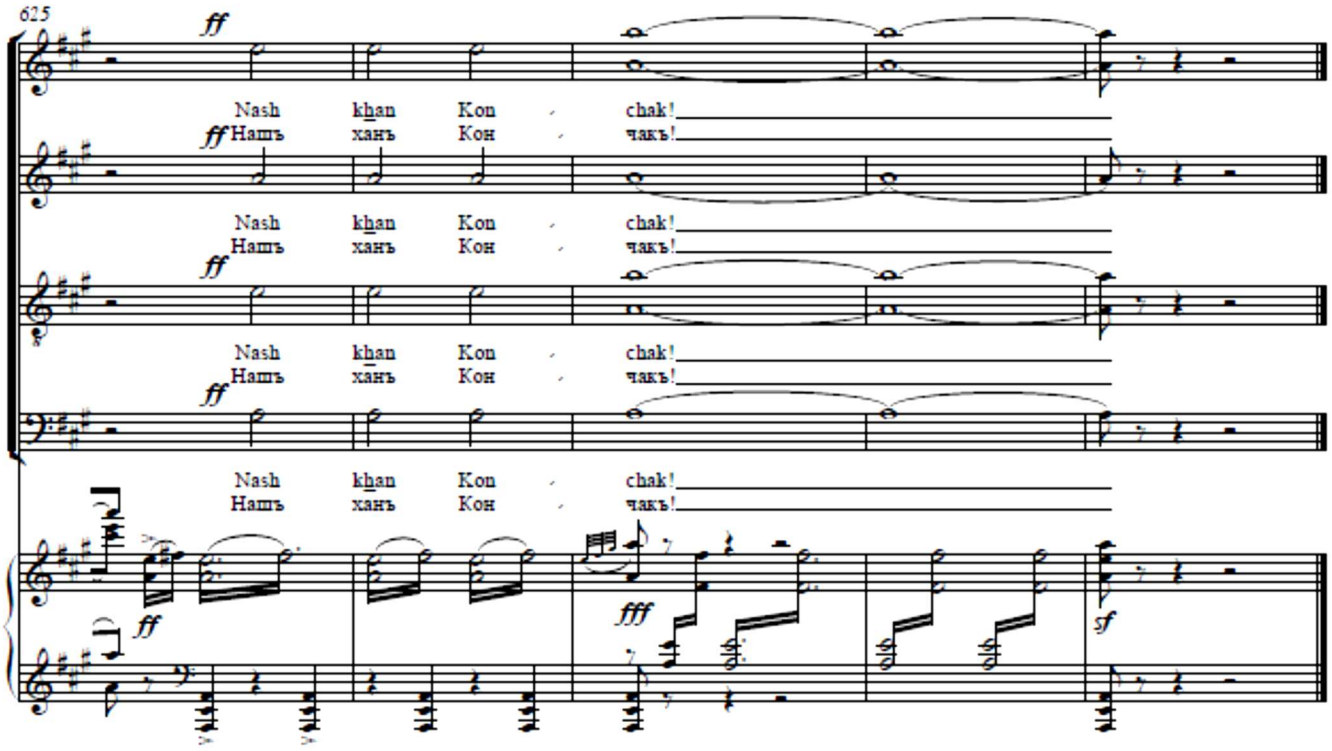

Figure 4-29: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II "Polovtsian Dances," mm. 625-629.

In contrast to Borodin's treatment of the Polovtsians, his setting of text and music for the Russian peoples exude Western characteristics. In Act II, No.10, the Russian prisoners sing to Konchakovna, the Polovtsian daughter of Khan Konchak, praying to their Lord, and for her mercy extended to them. Konchakovna's brief recitative preceding the chorus is ornamented with turns and chromatic melismas written for the winds section, presented here in the piano part (also idiomatic of representive rural people), emphasizing her ethnic identity as Polovstian, as she prompts the prisoners to sing (see Figure 4-30, mm. 5-11).

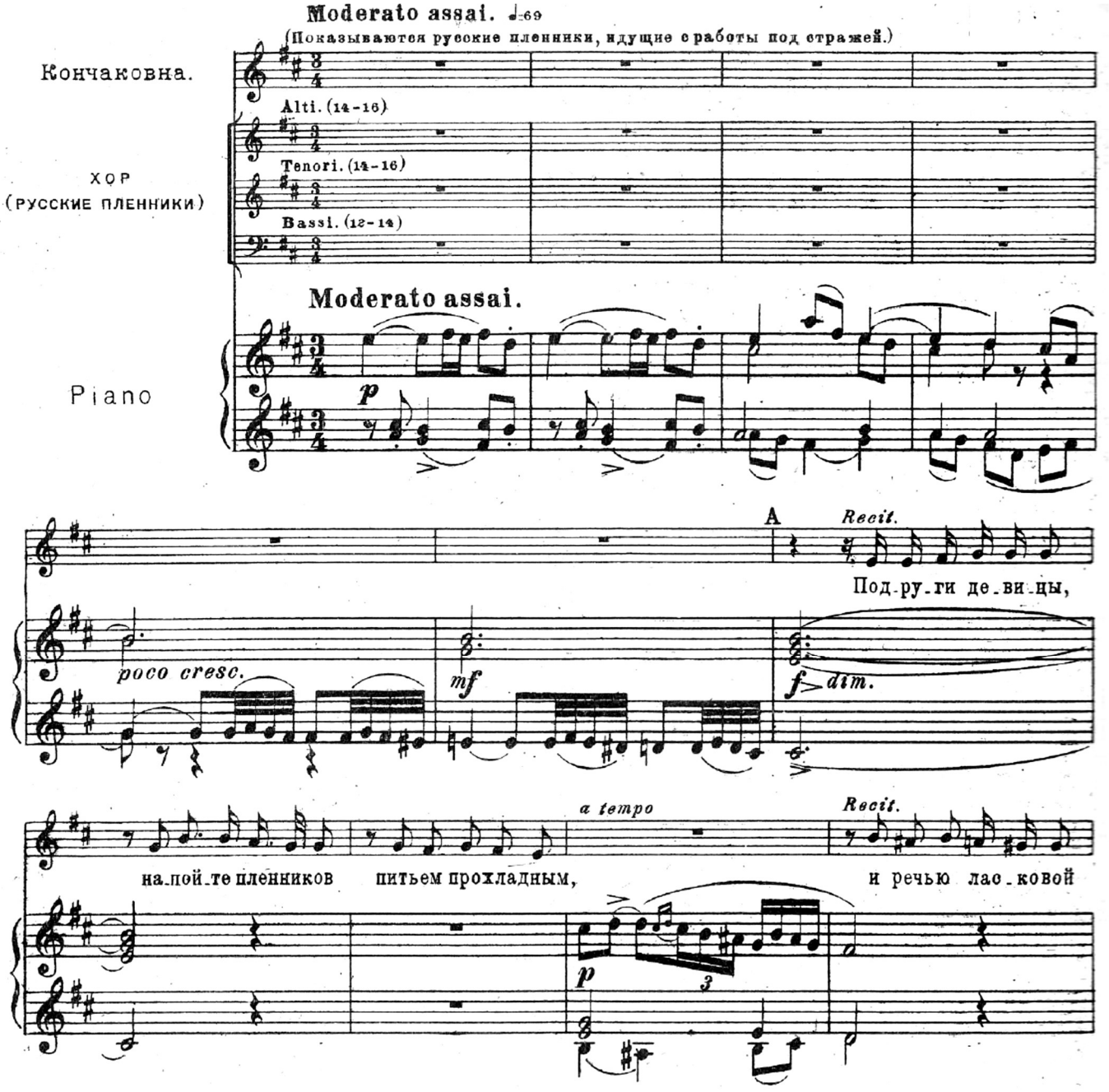

Figure 4-30: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, recitative of Konakovncha mm. 1-11.

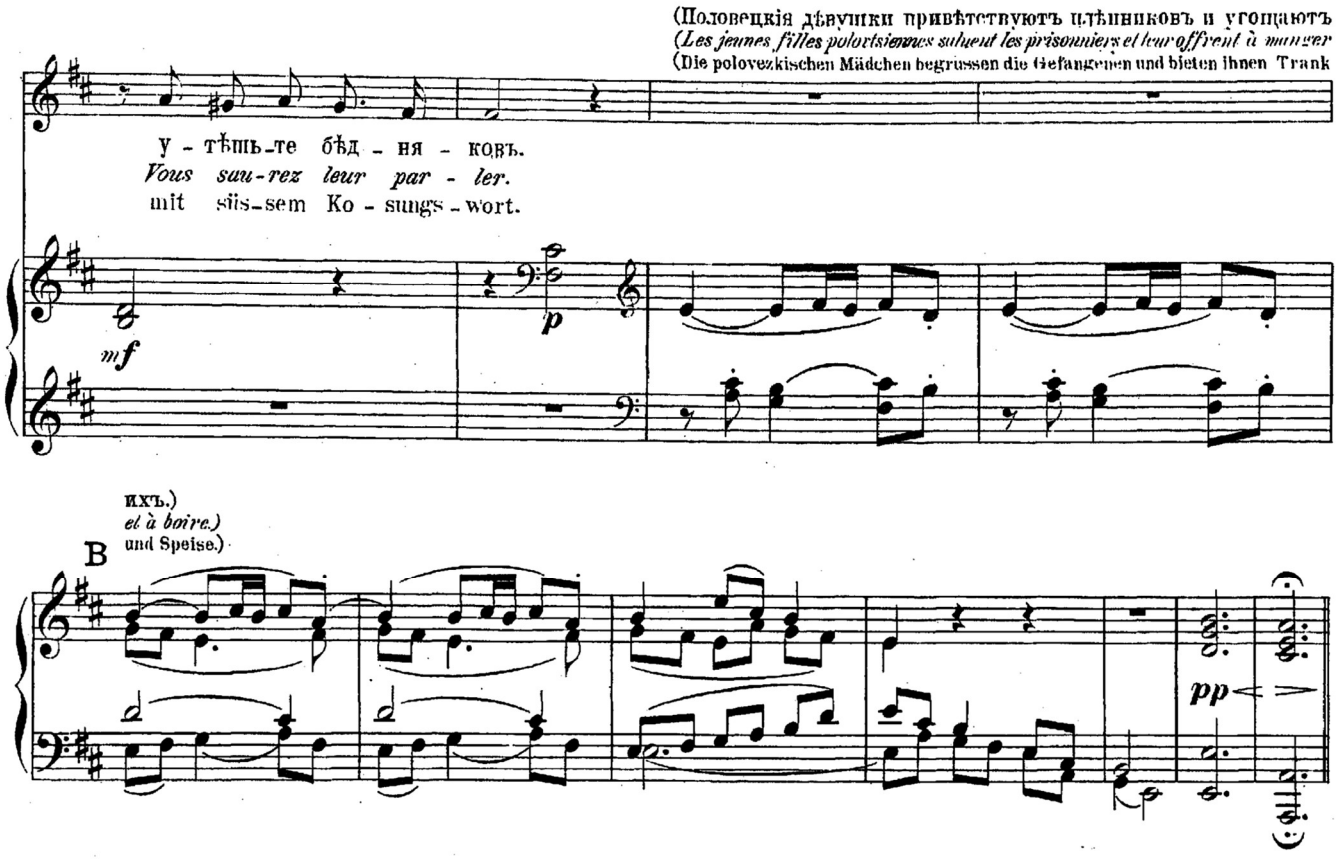

Figure 4-31: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, recitative of Konakovncha mm. 12-22.

Then the Russian chorus of altos, tenors, and basses enter in homophonic and syllabic fashion, modestly doubled by the strings, with no additional instrumental accompaniment (see Figure 4-32, mm. 23-25). This 22-measure chorus (mm. 23-44) is structured in a clear rounded binary form in D major, with balanced four-bar phrases in the A sections, and a contrasting middle section of six measures, which harmonically shifts to B-flat major (VI), and modulates back to the home key through dominant harmony to the return of the A section in D major. Vocal lines are lyrical, with scalar passages of thirds, spanning the full octave in each phrase, rather than the folk-like span of a sixth (see Figures 4-32, 4-33, and 4-34). Each phrase concludes with a dominant to tonic motion in the bass, with the exception of the final phrase, where the tenors

take the resolution from A to D (see Figure 4-33). With tranquil mood, balanced phrases over diatonic harmonic behavior, strings doubling the voices, the sense of Russianness here sounds distinctly Western as the way of differentiating from the "otherness" of the Polovtsian, musically defined by the Eastern-sounding idioms.

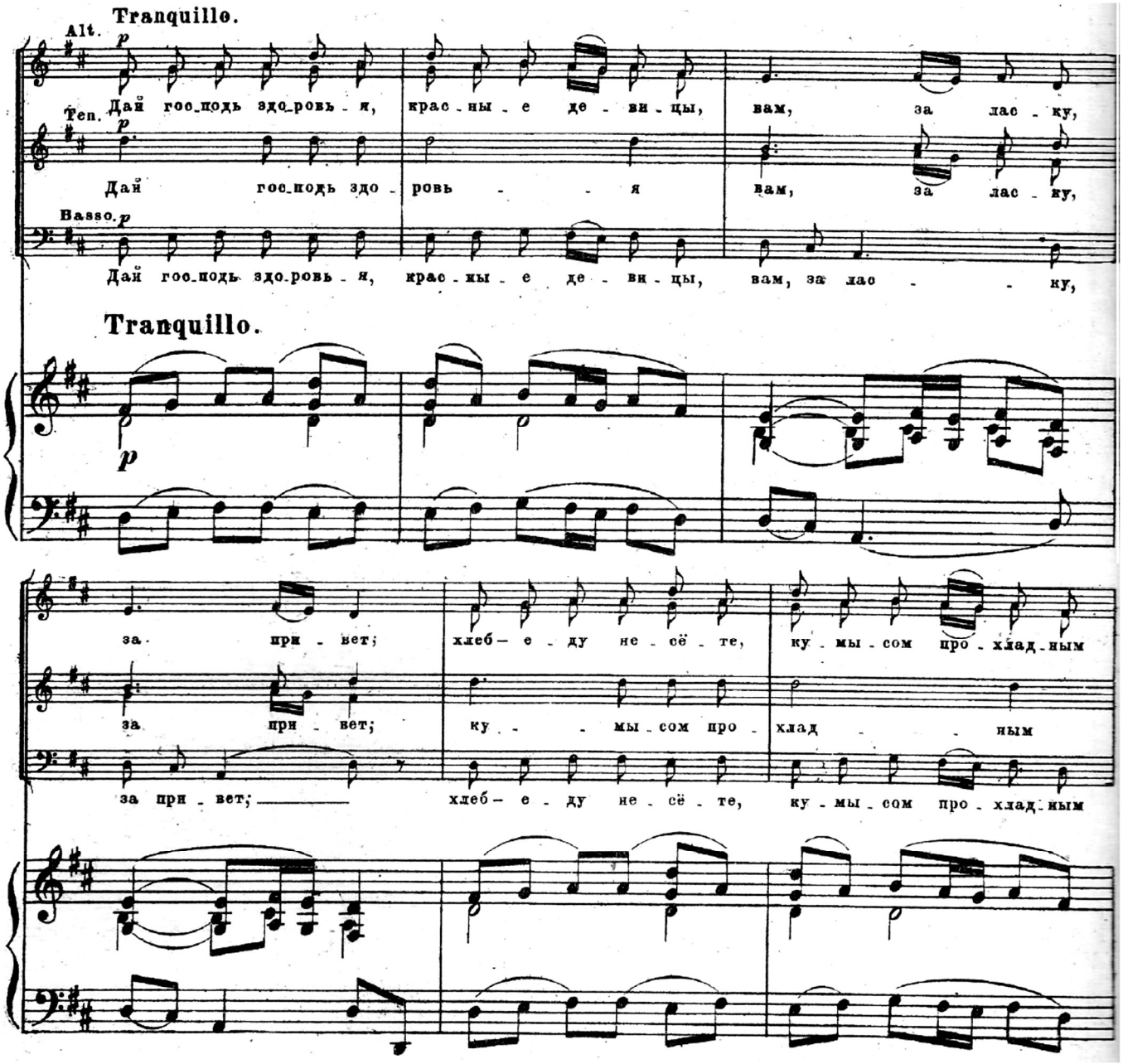

Figure 4-32: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, chorus of Russian prisoners, mm. 23-28.

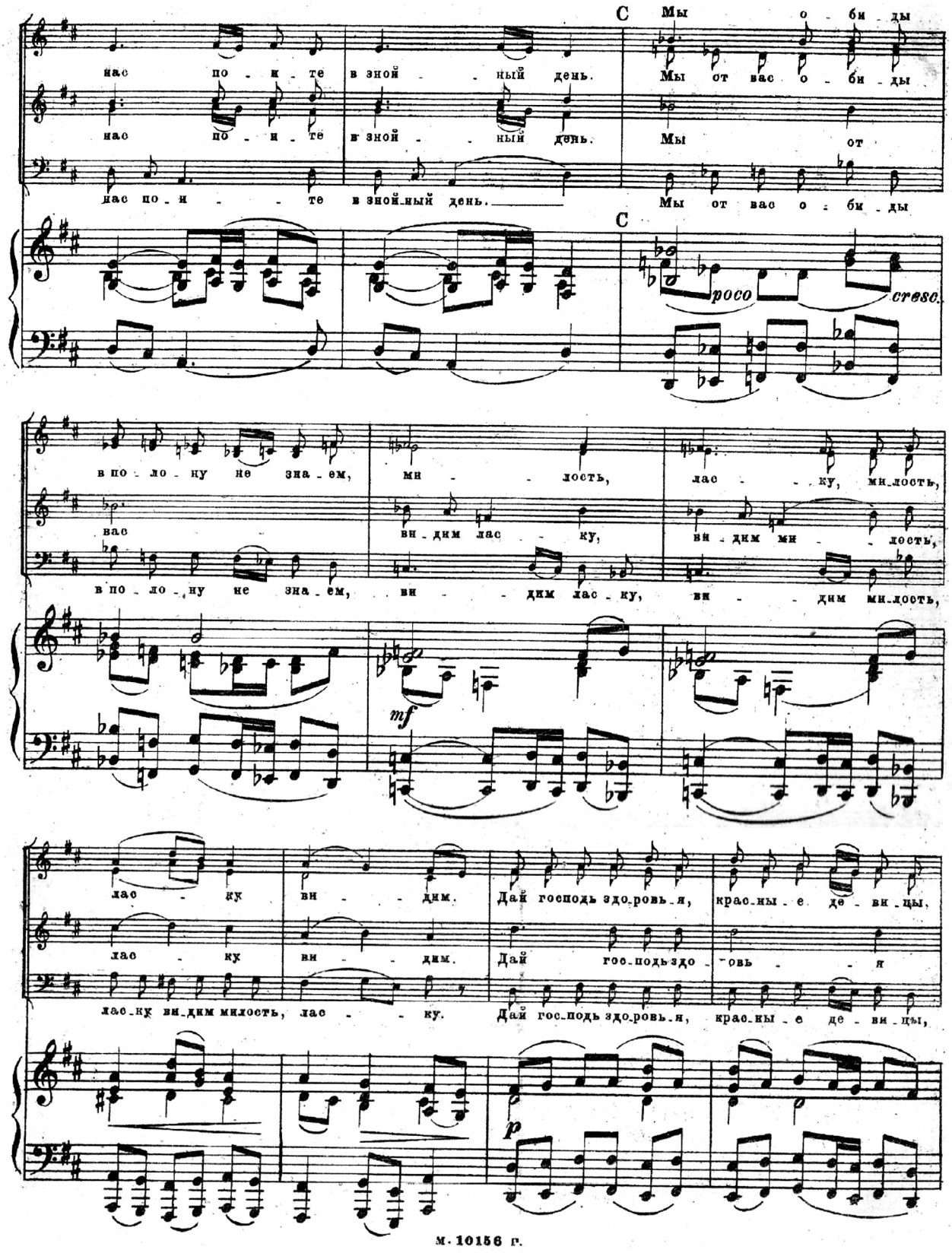

Figure 4-33: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, chorus of Russian prisoners, mm. 29-38.

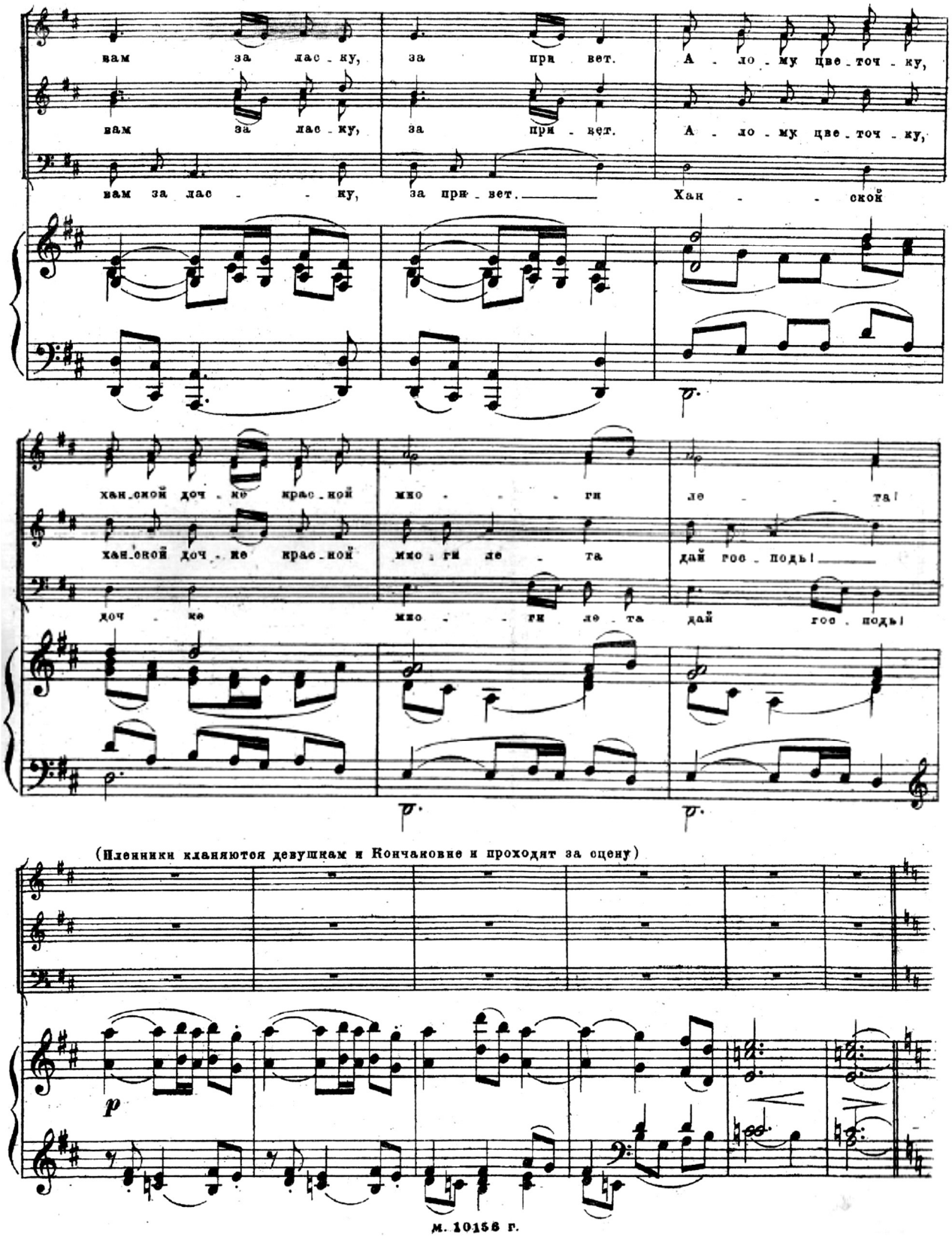

Figure 4-34: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, chorus of Russian prisoners, mm. 39-50.

This contrast is quickly brought to attention by the entrance of the Polovtsy soldiers whose music features a drone-like repeating E in the bass, using the Phrygian mode for mm. 51-65 (see Figures 4-35, 4-36, and 4-37) and mm. 74-93 (see Figures 4-38 through 4-41), with a densely chromatic section in between (mm. 66-73, see Figures 4-37 and 4-37), with a through-composed group of phrases, and lengths imbalanced with one another (five, three, and eight measure phrases). The instrumental accompaniment emphasizes winds and percussion, with open fifths and triplet turns using a half-step to stress the exotic character. Borodin writes the vocal lines with many repeated notes and stepwise motion, constructing a brutish, non-lyrical line, which serves as his projection of the Polovtsians as a simple-minded, perhaps primitive people. These rhythmic and lyrical decisions combined with orchestral coloring and the use of modes as the basis of the music for the Polovtsy soldiers demonstrates Borodin's method of evoking the foreign characteristics here, rather than to represent the idealized Russian folk peoples.

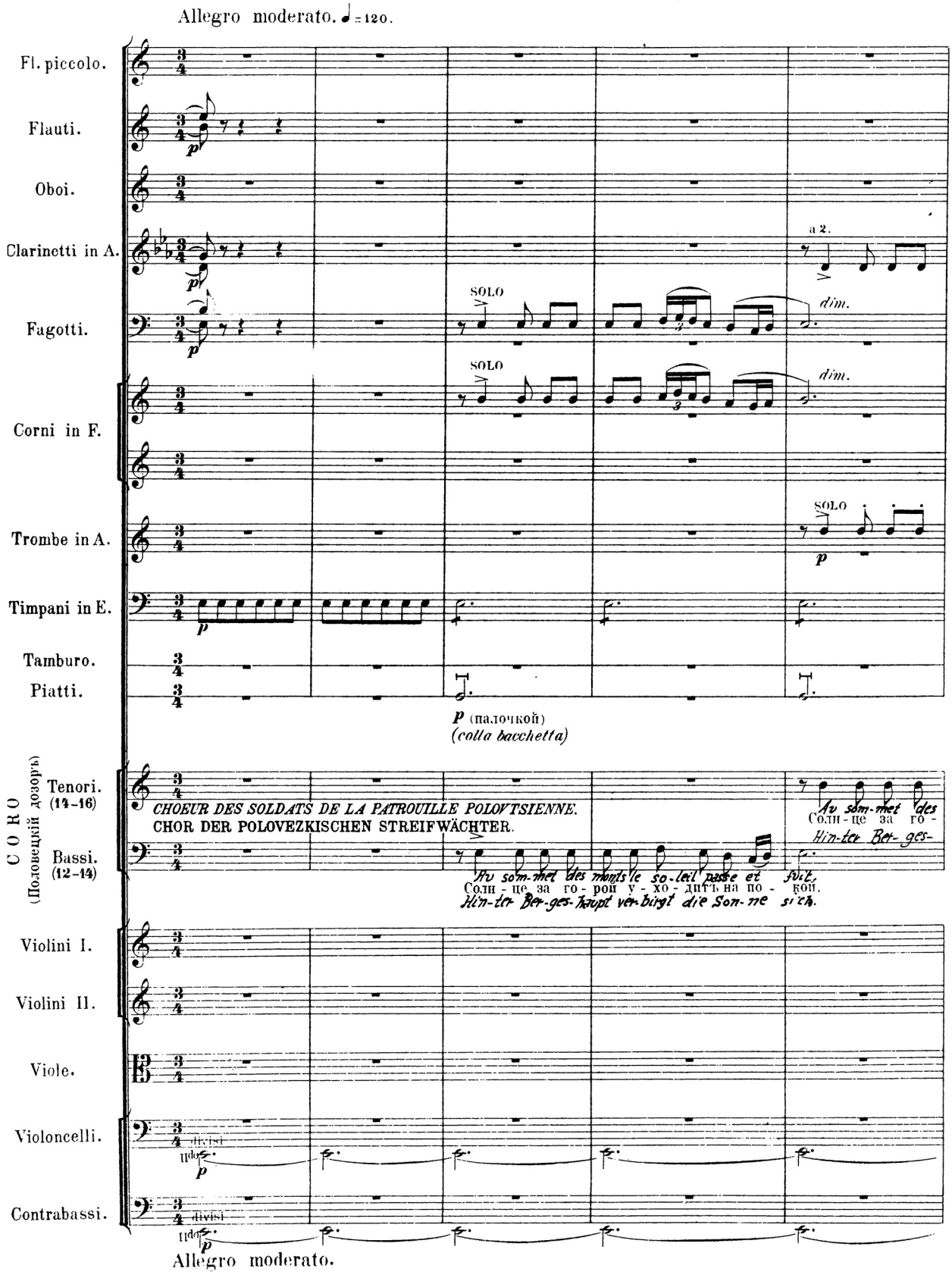

Figure 4-35: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, chorus of Polovtsy soldiers, mm. 51-55.

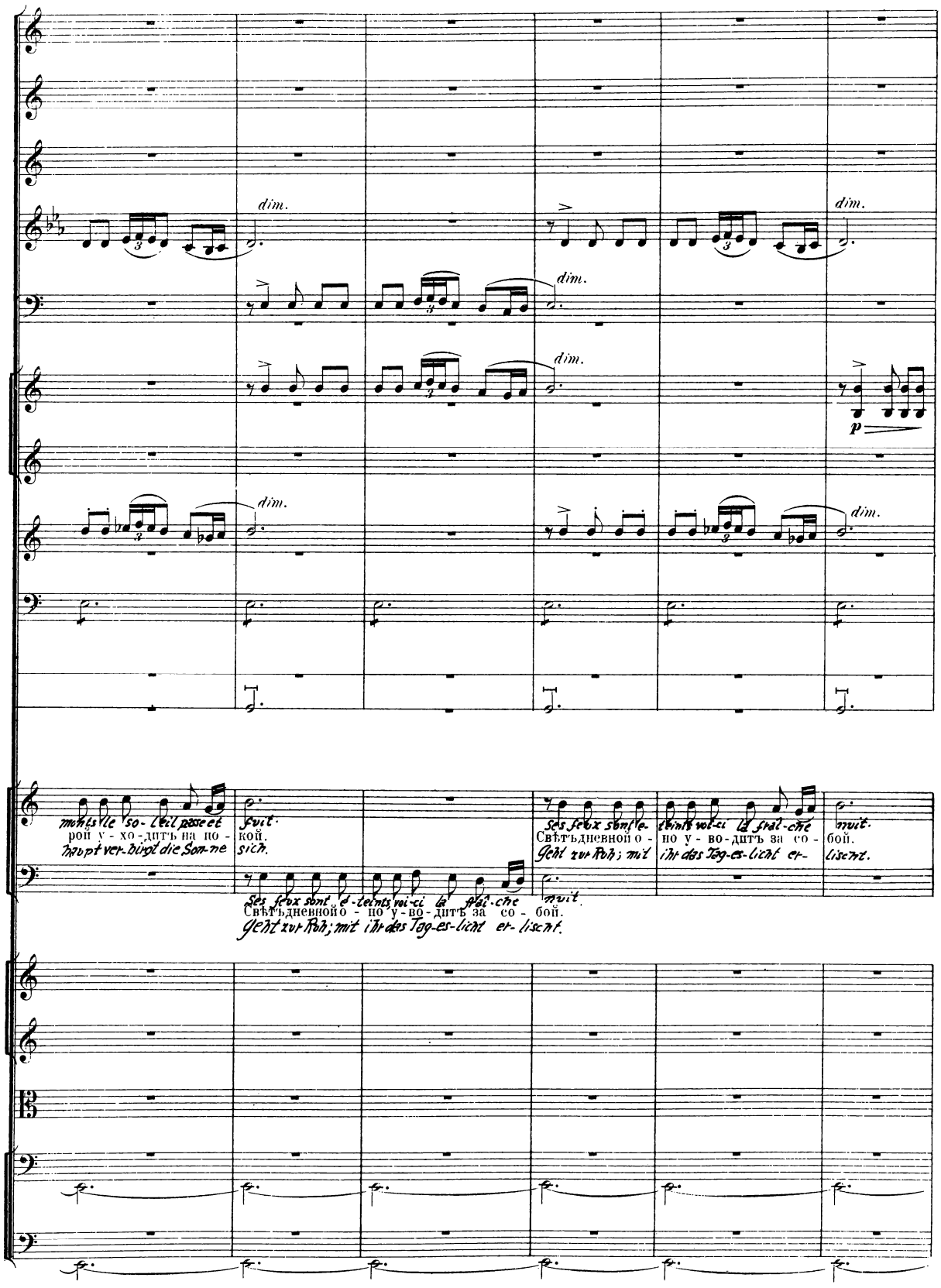

Figure 4-36: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, chorus of Polovtsy soldiers, mm. 56-61.

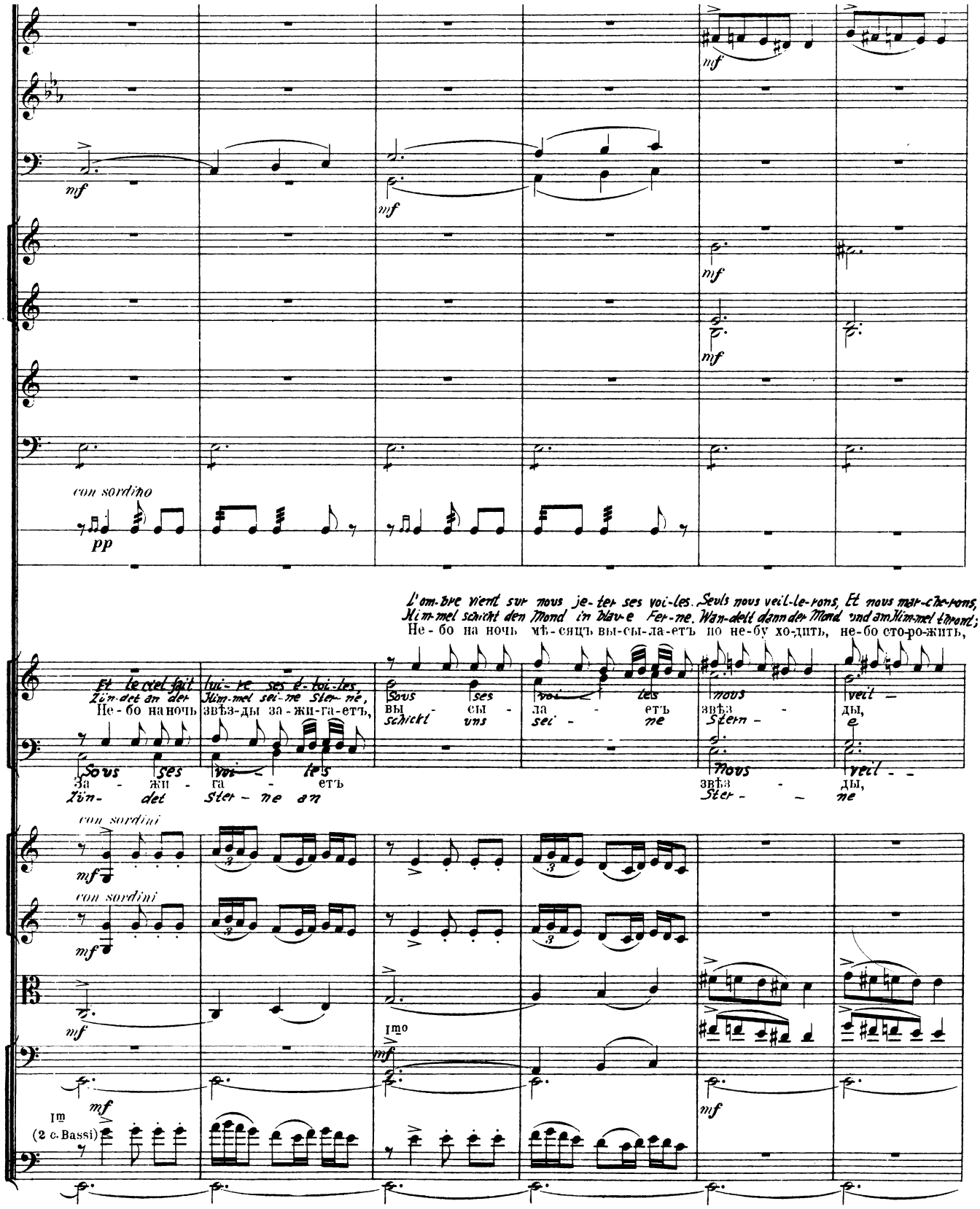

Figure 4-37: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, chorus of Polovtsy soldiers, mm. 62-67.

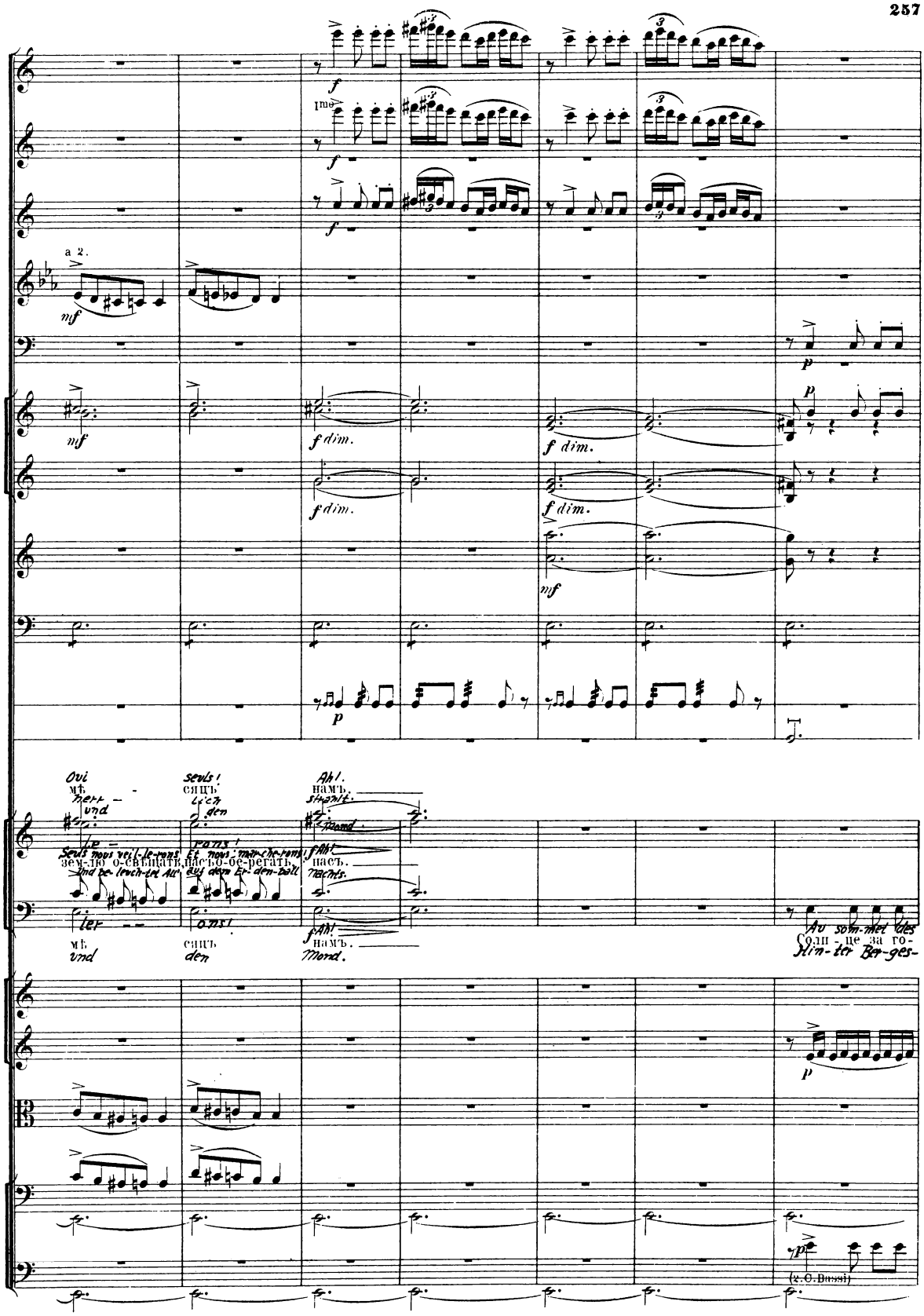

Figure 4-38: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, chorus of Polovtsy soldiers, mm. 68-74.

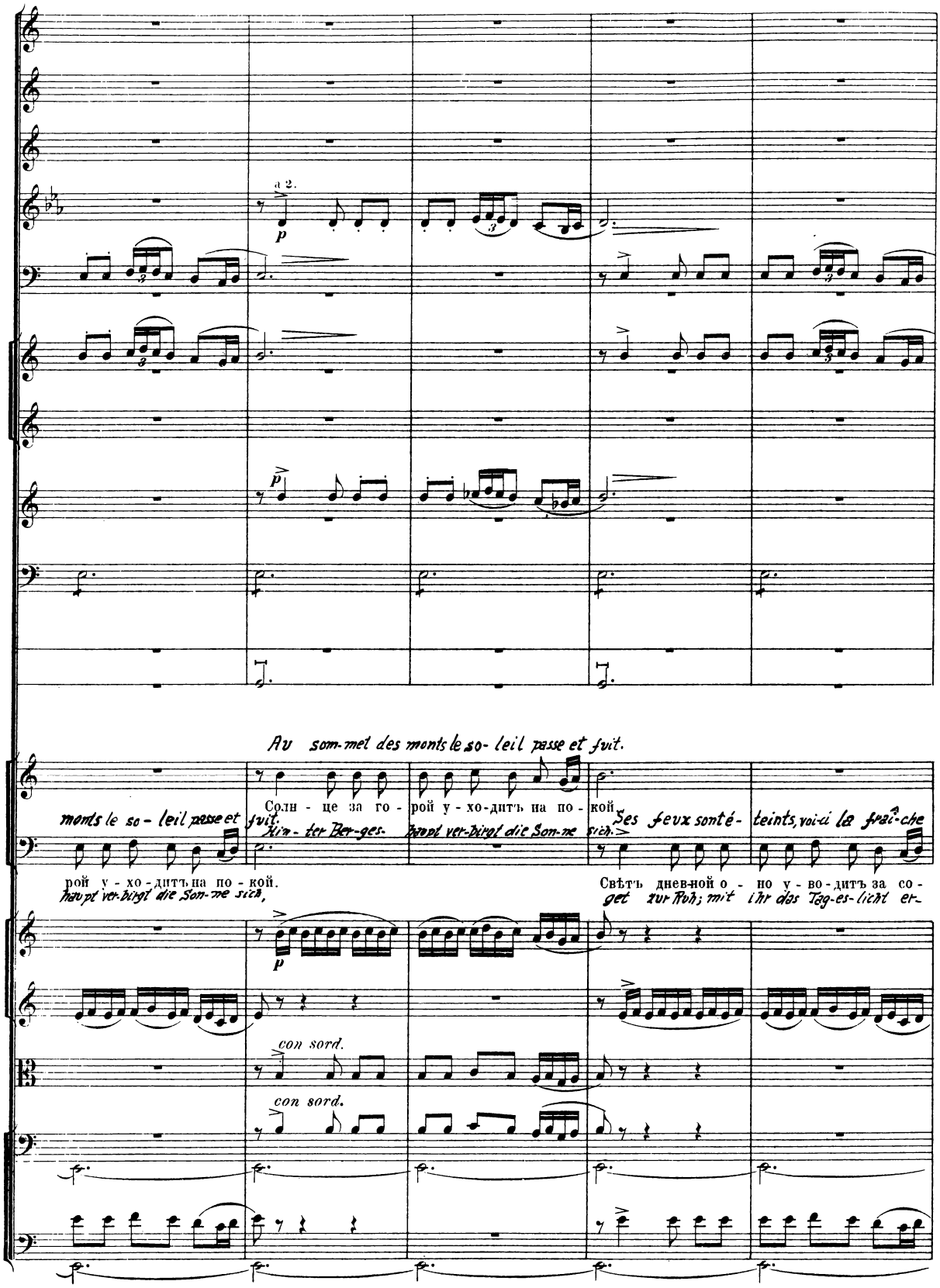

Figure 4-39: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, chorus of Polovtsy soldiers, mm. 75-79.

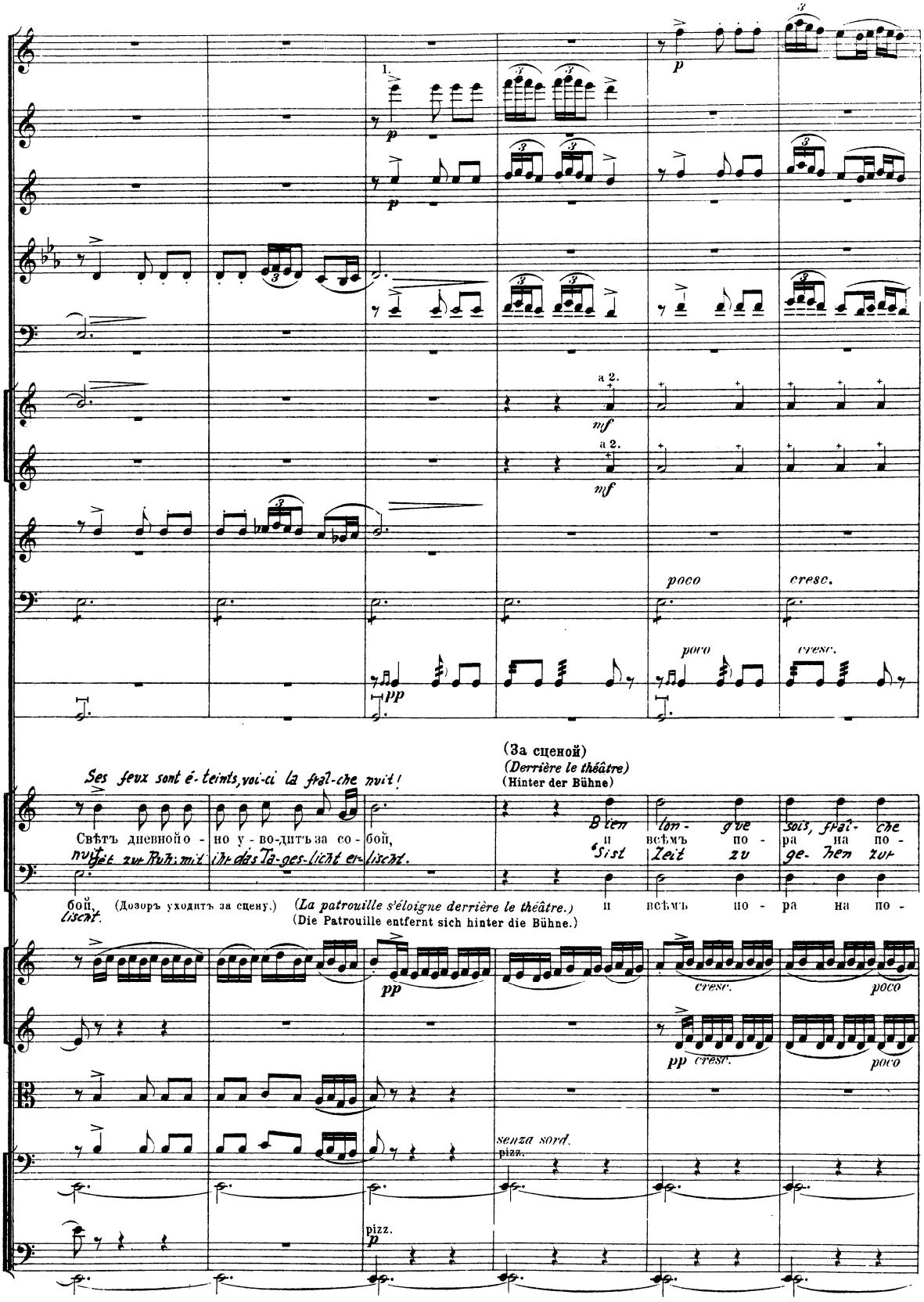

Figure 4-40: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, chorus of Polovtsy soldiers, mm. 80-85.

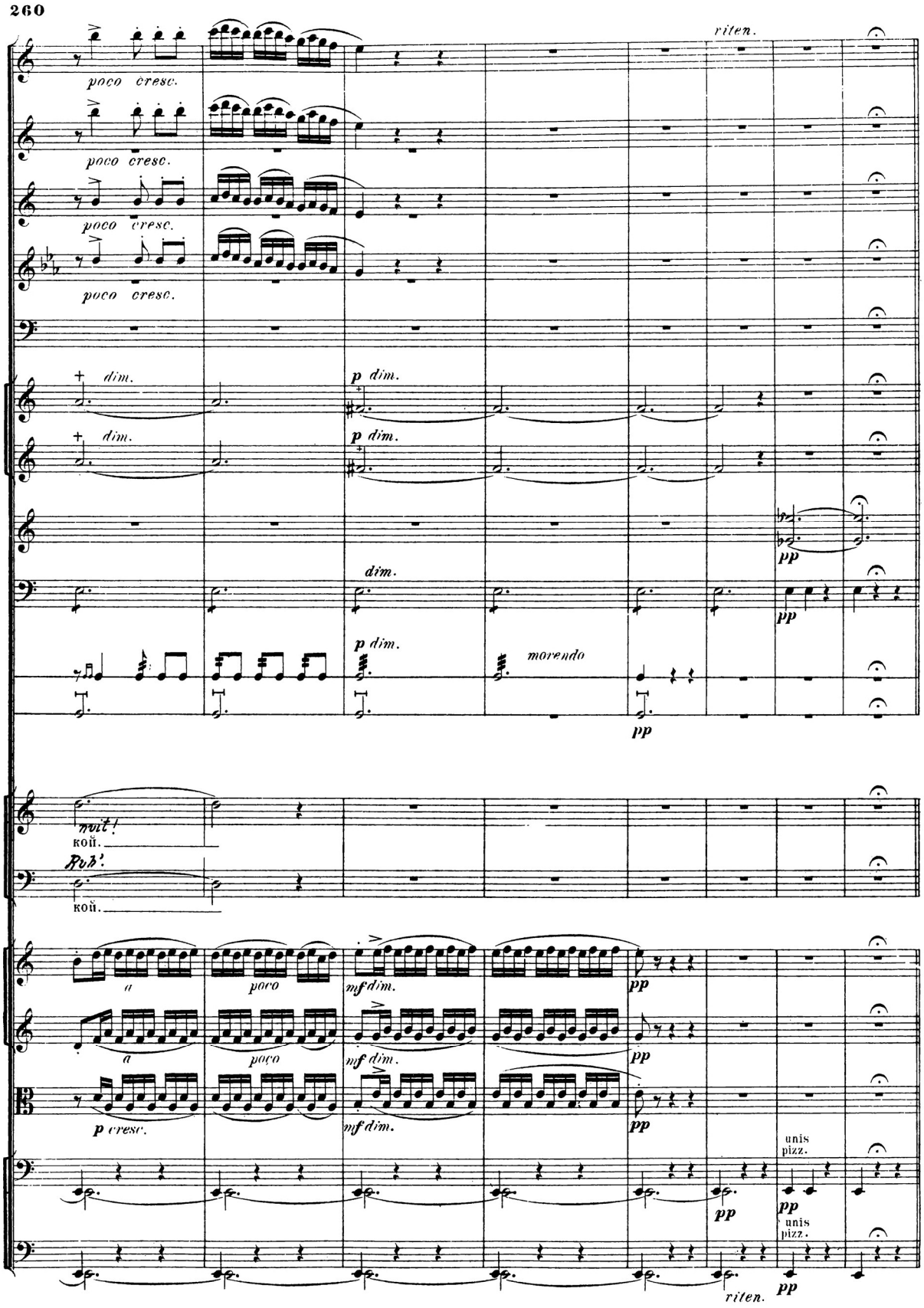

Figure 4-41: Borodin, *Prince Igor*, Act II, No. 10 Scene and Choir, chorus of Polovtsy soldiers, mm. 86-93.

The comparison of Borodin's treatment of the music for the Polovtsy people and the Russians reveals one of the complex underlying issues of the contemporary debate over nationalism as represented in music. Borodin uses folk and gypsy elements as a well-understood way to exert otherness and evoke an exotic perspection of the Polovtsy, in contrast with Western idioms as the identifiers of the Russian choruses. A powerful demonstration of the grappling between Eastern and Western cultures, Borodin evokes the gypsy styles and exaggerates the folk style, in connection with a culture that was perceived as less cultured, primitive, and recklessly violent, placing them beneath the Russians in social standing. While tying in a few Russian musical stylistic traits, the adaption of Western musical characteristics for the Russian chorus intended to place the Russians as the elevated, more sophisticated, and peaceful people. As part of the composer's constructing a national idiom, Borodin straddles both sides of the musical characteristics, using both Western and exotic styles in his writing. His use of these styles in this famous and popular opera of the time, seems to contrast those of his peers, depicting the primitive with the folk idioms, and the Russian high-cultured as Western.

Conclusion

By surveying compositional decisions regarding text settings, subject matter, harmonic functionality, and key relations, as well as genre and arrangement of performing forces as corresponding to composers' professional and financial obligations, conclusions can be made about the conceptions of Russian nationalism that manifest from this repertoire. Most definitively, the Russian Orthodox Church as a State institution affected and shaped the style of choral works produced of any sacred nature through fiscal reinforcement while implementing

compositional restraints. The second influential proponent of choral music of this era was the folk-song collection movement under the promotion of the Imperial Geographical Society. Many well-known composers gathered and arranged songs for publication accessible to the Russian public, also making available a base of "native" Russian music as inspiration for choral arrangements. The third substantial segment of choral works fashioned in this era, large-scale cantatas with orchestra are the result of commissioning from wealthy patrons, Imperial family members, the Conservatory, or the State for official events. Used to celebrate political events, anniversaries, and coronations, these events emphasize recognition of Russian figures of both governmental and cultural importance. Thanks to the sponsorship and professional backing provided by these major institutions, composers expressed the ideals of "Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Peoplehood," evidenced by the choral music originating under the sponsorship of these organizations.

Chapter 5: Conclusions on the Multiplicities of Russian Identity as Observed in Choral Music of the Pre-Revolutionary Era

The combination of events occurring in the nineteenth century resulted in the ability of the Russian people to voice their own perspectives of identification beyond the government prescribed characterization of Russianness; this was achieved at least in part by the collectivity formed in musical groups, in print media, and in composition. Following the reforms of 1861 and the establishment of the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1862, Russians gained supplementary opportunities to participate in musical activities in both an institutional setting and with societies devoted to music. The extension of hearing and participating in organized music-making to Russians outside of the nobility generated a broader spectrum of social classes to be assessed for evidence of cultural expression. Through the examination of institutions in St. Petersburg with active choirs, it becomes evident that different social classes collectively used choral music to convey their own version of ethnic and cultural Russianness.

In the multiple types of choirs available to St. Petersburg's inhabitants, persons of any economic status could join an ensemble to sing with or hear a choral performance. The placement of socio-economic demographics between these choirs is apparent due to the financial conditions of each ensemble. Correlating these divisions with the performance records from the various ensembles displays the type of choral music each social class experienced; as many of these groups functioned with volunteer or minimally-paid singers, it is fair to presume that participants likely preferred and enjoyed the music they were performing. Due to the regulation of liturgical music and the uniformity implemented by training precentors at the Imperial Court, church choirs and all who attended Orthodox services, regardless of economic or social status, encountered the same repertory. Churches with a large amount of funding employed more

experienced musicians, enabling them to perform more complicated works for the purposes of special events; it is simple to conclude that some of these sacred works were only available to select audiences. For customary services, however, the same liturgical music was heard in the wealthiest to the smallest Orthodox parishes. The State interposed its definition of Russian national musical style most effectively through the Church.

The State held the monopoly over theatrical performances with the ownership and oversight of the largest theaters in St. Petersburg. With the Russian Opera Company and the power of the Director of Imperial Theaters, the government influenced the approval of operas, plays, and ballets performed for the public. Until the opening of Mamontov's private theater in 1885 and sponsorship of Pavlovna for performances at the Mikhailovsky palace, all theatrical performances took place under the control of the State. With the operas of Glinka in the 1830s that sparked the conversation of Russian national music represented on stage, the State perpetuated the legend of Glinka as the first of Russia's own operatic tradition. This platform acted as the foundation for debate over decades to come about more than just the musical characteristics, techniques, and idioms necessary for representation of nationalism, but also the elements of race, background, and education as requisite to claim Russian ethnicity and thus authenticity.

The discussion of musical education arose with the expansion of opportunities in St. Petersburg. The only formal institution that trained musicians in the first half of the century was the Imperial Court Chapel, though academicism was minimal beyond performance training and basic theory as used for liturgical purposes. With the opening of the Russian Musical Society (1859) and the St. Petersburg Conservatory (1862), performing and viewing prospects grew, expanding beyond the limited attendance of the nobility and royalty. Prior to these institutions,

musicians trained in home environments with teachers of piano (mostly women) or with foreigners imported to Russia under the government's employment. Many composers travelled to European countries (most often France, Italy, and Germany) for formal training and musical education. The Russian institutions that initially operated with a majority of non-Russian teachers were met with highly controversial responses regarding the development of national pride for musicians. All believed that education was central to shaping the future of Russian musicians; division occurred with the various renderings of what was deemed "progress" and perspectives of how to achieve a most authentic version of Russian music.

The controversy over music education in Russia fundamentally addressed the issue of cosmopolitanism in Russian culture versus isolationism. Russia had faced this juxtaposition before, fluctuating between Western and Eastern leanings as representative of identity over the course of its history. In past centuries, the impact of such leanings directly affected Russian lives based on the perspective of the tsar currently in power. While most tsars can be labelled by their liberal versus conservative agendas, especially pertaining to foreign relations and cultural exchange, the relevant principle here is that the Russian people had witnessed dramatic oscillation between these opposing dogmas impressed upon them by government policies. A phenomenon of nineteenth-century enlightenment, the Russian people collectively voiced their perspectives on such matters, regardless of disapproval from the ruling class.

The St. Petersburg Conservatory exhibited its permitted flexibility even under the sponsorship of the State by extended its performing canon beyond that of sacred works or solely Russian composers. Whether there was any intention for the Conservatory to be a place of racial and gender inclusion, the academic institution became exactly that. These conflicts surrounding the Conservatory reveal the treatment of Jews and women as an inferior class of Russians,

regardless of economic status, because most women in this case came from noble families. Though not all opposing the Conservatory likely voiced anti-Semitic or sexist views, it is safe to assume that many of those ideologically battling against the Conservatory held anti-Semitic sentiments, as witnessed from the bylaws of the Free Music School and Balakirev for example.

Some conclusions can be drawn regarding the inclusiveness witnessed at the Conservatory, its expansive performance canon, and demographic diversity. More progress was made at this institution in the advancement of women and Jewish musicians as professionals, than at any other institution active at this time. The Conservatory never institutionally expressed any intentions to serve as a leading figure in social advancement, other than the elevation of the quality of classical music performance in Russia. Because of the prevalence of prejudice against Jews and the minimized role of women as professionals, the Conservatory faculty and students received the most intense derision from progressives of this era. Racial and gender prejudice played a significant role in the conflict that lie between the Conservatory and its competing institutions. Between the Russian Musical Society and the Conservatory, the ethnic concerns about Jews (as students) and the prevalence of Germans (as faculty) in the Conservatory stirred feelings of hostility. The Russian Musical Society maintained a more purely Russian demographic, in contrast to the ethnic and gender inclusion found at the Conservatory. Under an administration of progressive Russians for much of its existence, the Russian Musical Society neither attracted nor welcomed ethnic diversity in their assembly. In hindsight, this also explains how these two institutions were described in the historical narrative as opposed to each other, even though they were actually founded by the same people and similarly supported by the patronage of wealthy aristocrats.

Scholars differentiated the two, praising the Russian Musical Society as the forward-thinking, artistic pioneers of the nineteenth century compared to the staunch, outdated mindset of those at the Conservatory. This narrative demonstrates the historical perspective of ethnic groups that were accepted as Russian during this era, from those that were not. Jews may have lived among accomplished Russians and earned the same professional titles and even levels of success (like Anton Rubinstein), but their identity could never be fully shared with the ethnically exclusive Russian colleagues.

The largest of the autonomous musical institutions presented a wider variety of musical repertoire. The Russian Musical Society (not entirely detached from State influence), the Free Music School, Melnikov's Free Choral Class, Arkhangelsky's Choir, and Slavianskaia Kapella exercised freedom to choose works outside of the State-prescribed standards. The only ensemble to completely avoid any sacred works was the Slavianskaia Kapella. Their productions that intentionally displayed peasant and early Russian cultures consisted entirely of folk songs and arrangements of such for their routines. The other choral societies active at this time generally accommodated the capabilities of their own performing forces and their listening audiences with their musical selections. Using music as a form of collective expression, sub-settings within the dimensions of Russian ethnicity were cultivated among the interactive climate of these choral societies.

In addition to admission, performance selections, and professional opportunities as aspects that contributed to a group's collective identity, the print media served as a voice to both individual perspectives and those of social groups that shared identity markers. The ability of the intelligentsia and other scholars (outside of the nobility) to express their ideas in a public forum expanded the knowledge of cultural issues for the Russian layperson. Because of the

affordability to middle-class citizens, publishing articles in the form of pamphlets, journals, and newsletters reached a broader audience than those that would have purchased scholarly texts. Though literacy rates had not reached a majority of the Russian population, it was at the highest rate in Russia's history to date. More people were able to participate in the conversation about social, cultural, and artistic matters.

These publications were mostly founded under the sponsorship of a musician or musical supporter, which on some occasions shaded the content allowed according to the publisher or senior editor's agenda. With this newfound platform, critics and writers on music achieved a certain amount of power over ideological movements, collective ideals, and current events. In this forum, lines were drawn between those who differed in beliefs, rhetorical swords were wielded in attack of contrasting views, and for some, personal vendettas played out for the public to witness. Writers achieved empowerment to express their views and to demean or discourage the views of others. As examined in the previous chapters, some authors vehemently advocated for a movement and favorite composers, while others remained neutral in their public persona.

Journalism served as more than just the stage of ideological disagreements. A majority of articles, excluding performance reviews, dealt with issues of musical advancement in Russia. This included the subject of church music, how composers and musicians should treat the intended performance practices, discussion on how the church was adapting to social development, and the demands this impressed onto musicians. Journals also acted as a mode of academic publications such as biographical passages, first-hand interviews with composers of interest, theoretical analysis, and sheet music prints of vocal and piano solo pieces. Some journals regularly included musical scores, such as *Voskresnyĭ listok muzyki i obiavienia* (*Sunday Sheet Music and Announcements*), *Muzykalnoe obozrenie* (*Musical Review*), and *Russkaia*

muzykalnaia gazeta (*Russian Musical Gazette*). Putting music into homes through distribution in these journals essentially dictated what would become popular with amateur musicians, who could not afford the expensive editions of a composer's complete works being published at this time.

By offering basic teaching of music theory in small portions over the course of multiple volumes, amateurs not only learned fundamentals of music education, but also expanded the overall interest in public performances and supported the artistic community. Additional to theoretical and analytical discussion, articles routinely focused on the practical issues of developing music education programming in Russia. This presented as debates over the selections of music used for teaching purposes, the setting of academic training, debates of who should and should not qualify as teachers worthy of furthering Russian music, and disputes over the merits of different systems of training. While there is still much to be examined regarding the systems of musical education in Russia, it is evident that this subject received regular attention and involved matters of race, ethnicity, and national identity.

Journals and other publications of this era acted as a vehicle for public figures to arbitrate their own identity formation. Those who participated passively as readers were offered ideas to contribute to their own identity negotiation and their relation to Russian society. Through this practice of social construction, collective identities also formed as people attached to the various trends in ideologies. The most significant of the cultural identities that developed or at least the most problematic for immediate political stability was the shared consciousness that a government or other fixed institution was no longer required for the completeness of corporate oneness. The growth of these sentiments and their prevalence for public consumption contended with what had long been the assumed nationalistic loyalties of all Russians. The historically

subordinate classes freed themselves from the system of hegemony that had been in place for centuries. Possibilities multiplied for the general population to mediate individual and group distinctiveness beyond the previously limited scope of governmental or Orthodox demarcations. This deviation in paradigm eventually led to politically-charged uprisings in the Empire.

Due to the changes in legal status of workers, "freedom" from serfdom, and the ability to advance one's economic standing in the late-nineteenth century, people in Russia faced the renegotiation of social and class standing. People of all social classes faced destabilizing social and cultural identities. The nobility was threatened by the lack of social control and the weakening of the State influence, which had formed many elements of their own social identity, as well as the possibility of penetration by outsiders into their closed group, another salient feature of their collective identity. Lower-class members encountered evolution among their own classes with newfound opportunities for advancement. Many faced an entirely foreign environment with relocation from farm lands to urban living. In this fluid process to assert and define their own desired self-identification, activities with personal interaction served as most effective tools to engage in this process. Both listening to and singing choral music provided a favorable climate for repeated cultural routines that contributed to the development of subcultures in Russia. As seen by investigating choral ensembles with minimal ethnic diversity, the prevalence of these subcultures uncovered biases and prejudices present among a singular ethnicity. As an Empire containing a variety of ethnicities, cultures, and nation-states, subcultures can be easily delineated in Russia according to lingual, geographical, and physical differentiations. However, this study demonstrates the presence of subcultures within the Russian ethnic group through communal activities and other social agents that evoked perceptions of group identity. These signifying practices occurred in a variety of settings, using choral music as the active agent of expression. While the State still sponsored music-making in both private and

public settings, the numerical growth of regularly available performances and venues supplied more occasions for shared experiences beyond the direct control of the government.

Contending with the Imperial government could not be avoided, particularly in regards to the doctrine of nationalism, defined as "Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and Nationality." From this dogma, Russians were commanded that their identity required loyalty to both the State and the Orthodox Church. These principles left minimal room for interpretation and were easily imposed on the musical institutions of the mid-1800s. Before the establishment of the Russian Musical Society and the St. Petersburg Conservatory, professional opportunities were limited to working for the State, most often in the capacity of a church musician.

The Orthodox Church as financed and overseen as a government branch, supported the State agenda by employing Russian musicians and encouraging the continuation of composition for the Russian Church. The most successful and reputable composers earned positions at the Imperial Court Chapel. Seen in chapter 4, the output of composers while working for the Imperial Court exhibited the designated musical style as prescribed by the State: sacred, *a cappella* vocal works. The standard of generations of composers that had written solely for the Orthodox Church tinted the compositional decisions of those who chose to contribute new works to the sacred tradition. New works added to the sacred tradition, such as large-scale choral concertos and cantatas used sacred subjects, but deviated from tradition with the expansive addition of orchestra and blending of operatic techniques. These works no longer retained the standards proposed by the Orthodox Church, but reached an expanded audience outside of the church walls. It should not be assumed that composers wrote sacred works merely as a source of income. The writing of cantatas to be performed outside of the church setting confirms that composers, whether religiously devout or not, expressed aspects of Orthodoxy as a part of their

Russian self. This is most evident in the works of the conservative and progressive composers. By the end of the nineteenth century, the symbolist and modernist movements philosophically approached music and art from a secular standpoint, devoid of Orthodoxy as a cultural foundation.

Many composers of this era supported their lifestyles with careers outside of music. By analyzing the works of these composers, comparison can be made between those employed by the State, with those who composed of their own inclination and no government funding. The clearest example of music composed on the basis of employment is seen in the output of Rimsky-Korsakov. His only sacred works were written during his tenure at the Imperial Court Chapel. Similarly blatant, Cui never required financial support for his compositions thanks to his military career. His compositional decisions display freedom of experimentation in harmony and form. The publication of folk-songs and arrangements seen by multiple composers appeared from the sponsorship of the government institution, the Russian Geographical Society, though the remainder of the choral works by these same composers used few or no folk songs. Pensions awarded by the State supported composers who found favor with the governing figures, surely influential on the adherence of certain composers to Russian-language texts in both sacred and secular works.

As seen in the studies of individual and group expressions of identity, many factors amplified the variations of Russianness expressed in late-nineteenth century St. Petersburg. Major subjects of contention included musical education, the dependency on or struggle against government involvement in artistic endeavors, and the opportunities available for performance; the most politically charged topics scrutinized race, ethnicity, and religion as they pertained to representation of Russian nationalism. Through the examination of these elements in the print

media, educational institutions, and the performance and composition of choral music, conclusions can be made about the complexities of Russian identity in this era. The first and most obvious deduction is that there never existed a united or singular definition of Russianness. Secondly, it can be determined that the characteristics of Russianness represented in music manifested in distinctive forms between social classes. Finally, even among those who classified themselves as attached to a particularly ideological movement (conservatives, progressives, and modernists), the actual demonstration of these ideas appeared dissimilarly among individuals, thus blurring the lines between groups intended to project a specific version of nationalism.

In conclusion, despite the historical narrative that paints a picture of opposing ideological camps like two clearly-differentiated teams, a more intimate assessment demonstrates the intricacies present in concepts about music in this era. Composers may have been lumped into collective groups on the basis of some shared ideas, but it is evident that each sought an individualistic negotiation of identity among a government state that either challenged or supported their work and numerous other variables affecting their compositional decisions. Rather than labelling composers of this era by ideological camp, focusing on the individuals and assessing what could be more accurately described as "patriotic" tendencies or intentions in place of the heavily weighted "nationalism" would more accurately describe the multiplicities of Russian identity prevalent in the musical community. Russians from all social-classes pursued communities to arbitrate their own qualities of identity, which resulted in numerous designations of what was "Russian." The performance, compositional, and educational opportunities provided by choral institutions served as premises of identity formation during a period of socio-economic instability in late-nineteenth century St. Petersburg.

Appendix A: Full-Text Articles in Russian and English. Organized by Journal Title

A. *Khorovoe i regenskoe delo* (*Choral and Precentor Affairs*)

1. January 1909: Page 22

7 декабря в зале Городской Думы Временным Комитетом по сооружению в Спб. общего памятника Д. С. Бортнянскому, П. И. Турчанинову и А. Ф. Львову было устроено собрание, посвященное памяти этих композиторов. Было совершено молебствие и после него Митрополичьим хором были исполнены произведения чествовавшихся композиторов, а также сделаны сообщения о значении каждого из них.

On December 7 in the hall of the City Duma, the Provisional Committee for Construction in St. Petersburg arranged an assembly as a shared dedication to Bortniansky, Turchaninov, and Lvov, devoted to the memory of these composers. A litany was offered and afterwards the Metropolitan chorus performed works of the honored composers and gave a presentation on the meaning of each of them.

2. July & August 1909: Page 233

28 августа в сороковой день кончины С. В. Смоленского в церкви Общества распространения религиозно-нравственного просвещения, на Стремянной, была отслупо инициативе А. А. Архангельского и его хора, который и исполнил, с отличающим его пение мастерством как литургию, так и панихиду. В храме собрались многочисленные почитатели и друзья покойного Степана Васильевича.

28 August in the fortieth day of the death of S. V. Smolensky in the Church society for the propagation of religious and moral education, on Stremyannaya there was a service on the initiative of A. A. Arkhangelsky and his choir, who has performed with distinguishing his singing skill as the Liturgy and the memorial service. In the temple gathered many admirers and friends of the late Stepan Vasilyevich.

3. July & August 1909: Page 289

Нужно было видеть, передают [Церк. Ведом.], с какою любовью народе принимал участие в спевках, чтобы во всей истинности оценить громадное значение общенародного церковного пения для успеха нашей внутренней миссии. Спевки были преимущественно в будни по окончании работе и затягивались с 8 час. до 11 час. веч., по настоянию участников. Спивались и старый и малый, мужчины и женщины; принимали участие больше из интеллигенции. Все издание книжки: “Слово жизни в церковных песнопениях” (30 тысяч экземпляров). Трогательно было наблюдать, как матери и няньки в детьми на одной руке и с

книжкой и огарком свечи - в другой, усердно пели; как старались все в точности выполнять указания регента.

Некоторые, из боязни опоздать, явились в соборе прямо с фабрик и заводов, на дороге запасаясь хлебом и дорогой им ужиная. Исаакиевском соборе вмещает свыше 17 тысяче человеке и наполняется раз, два в году, - только в великие праздники. Но на этот раз возникло опасение, что он вместит далеко не всех певчих. Действительно если на спевке было лишь тысяче семь, восемь, то 1 ноября он был переполнен настолько, что полиция вынуждена была прекратить вход в него. В храме стояла жара, стены были мокры. Это - в Исаакиевском соборе при его громадности и сорока-саженной вышине! Хоре Исаакиевских певчих в 70 человек пел лишь одни ектении, остальное все- народ. Поразительно, захватывающе это пение 20 тысяче человеке. Казалось, невозможно управить таким хором, а на самом деле он пел, как строго дисциплинированный, и по сравнению с ним хоре Исаакиевских певчих представлялся жалкиме. Честь и слава псаломщикам столичным и особенно общему руководителю пением, священнику о. Михаилу Дубенскому! Честь и слава миссионерскому совету, широко развивающему в последнее всемя свою деятельность среди простого народа!

You should have seen the kind of love demonstrated in the rehearsals, truly emphasizing the vast importance of the Church singing as vital to the success of their internal mission. Practice was mostly on weekdays after work, in the evenings lasting from 8 in the evening until 11 at night some days, at the insistence of the participants. Mostly from the intelligentsia, people were drunk and old and small, men and women who participated…It was touching to see mother and nanny with children in one hand, and a book and a piece of candle in the other, singing earnestly, trying to follow exactly the instructions of the precentor.

Despite the rain and the later time for rehearsals, people travelled all the way from the outskirts of the capital. Some, for fear of being late, came to the cathedral directly from the factories, on the road with stocks of grain and honey for their dinner. St. Isaac’s Cathedral can accommodate more than 17 thousand people and is filled once, twice a year – only on the great feasts. But this time it was feared it could not accommodate all the singers. Indeed, at choir practice were only 7 or 8 thousand, but on November 1 the cathedral was filled so full that the police were forced to stop the entrance to it. Inside, the church was hot and the walls were wet. St. Isaac’s Cathedral stood with its immensity and domes soaring high above! St. Isaac’s Choir singers of 70 people sang a litany alone; the rest of the singing included all the people. Amazingly, this breathtaking singing included almost 20 thousand people. It seemed impossible to manage such a chorus, but in reality, they sang with strict discipline. However, comparing them with the choir of St. Isaac’s singing seemed miserable. Honor and glory to the psalm-readers of the capital and especially the general head of the singing, the priest Michael Dubensky! Honor and glory to the Missionary Council, which is widely developed in recent years with all its activities among the common people!

4. July & August 1909: No. 7 & 8, Page 302

По духовным концертам. Впечатления. Пост- обычное время для духовных концертов; 21 ноября концерт Сампсониевскаго народного хора; 1 декабря - Кружка любителей церковного пения при братстве Пресв. Богородицы; 2 декабря Хора Придворной Певческой Капеллы, и 6 декабря Хора -500- Церковно-Певческого Общества. Конечно, такое обилие концертов отозвалось на посещаемости их публикой. Так напр. даже концерт Придворной Капеллы не собрал полного зала, а это жаль: именно этот концерт и явился выдающимся среди других как по свежести программы, так и по качеству исполнения. С него и начну делиться впечатлениями. Программа этого концерта состояла из 10 No.

1. Херувимская песнь No. 3 - г. Богданова
2. “Ныне отпущаеши” No. 1 - г. Кастальского
3. “Достойно есть” - кн. А. А. Оболенской
4. “Саженях” - г. Носкова
5. “Милость мира”, и “Тебе-поем” - г. Черепнина
6. “Внуши Боже (молитву мою)” - г. Гречанинова
7. “Кто сия проницающая” (концерт из Венчания) - г. Кастальского
8. “Господи воззвах” и догматик 2 гласа - г. П. Чеснокова
9. “Благообразный иосиф” - Лотти
10. “Во царствии Твоем” - г. А. Чеснокова

Большинфство из этих нумеров Капелла исполнила вперые, некоторые же из них явились новинками и для Петербурга. Интерес и свежесть программы потому вполне ясны. Капелла, давно не дававшая концертов с такой новой программой, заслуживает самой искренней признательности. Симпатичным произведением является “Се жених” г. Носкова, начинающего автора, имя которого на программах духовных концертов встречается, кажется, впервые. Звучно написанное, достаточно выдержанное, произведение это хотя и не вполне оригинально, но свидетельствует о несомненной серьезности стремлений молодого автора. Если и встречаются заимствования и подражания, то только таким авторам, подражать которым не грех со стороны начинающего композитора (Кастальский, Гречанинов). Более определенный отзыв о г. Носкове отложим до следующих его выступлений, - начало-же обещающее.

Impressions of the spiritual concerts. Announcing – the usual time for spiritual concerts; November 21 concert of the Sampson folk choir; December 1 Circle of Church Music Lovers singing at the Brotherhood of the Blessed Virgin Mary; December 2 Choir of the Court Chapel, and on December 6 the combined Choir of 500 of the Choral Society. Of course, such an abundance of concerts was reflected in the attendance by the public. So, even a concert of the Court Chapel did not receive attendance of a full hall, which is a pity because the concert was outstanding among others thanks to its original program, and quality performance. With this, let us begin sharing these experiences. The program of the concert consisted of 10 numbers.

1. “The Cherubic hymn” No. 3 by Bogdanov
2. “Lord, now lettest thou depart” No. 1. by Castalia
3. “ Worthy are you” from the collection by A. A. Obolensky
4. “Fathoms” by Noskov
5. “Peace on earth” and “To you I sing” by Tcherepnin
6. “Inspire oh God (my prayer)” by Grechaninov
7. “Who is this pervading” (recital of Wedding) by Kastalsky
8. “Lord I have cried” and a Dogmatist[1] for two voices by P. G. Chesnokov
9. “Noble Joseph” by Lottie
10. “In Thy Kingdom” by A. G. Chesnokov

The majority of these numbers, the choir performed for the first time, some of them were novelties for St. Petersburg. The interest and originality of the program therefore was quite clear. The Kapella for a long while did not give concerts with such a new program, which deserves our heartfelt appreciation. “Behold the Bridegroom” is a pretty piece by Noskov, a novice author, whose name is found on the religious concerts for the first time. Boldly written and reasonably mature, the product is not completely original, but undoubtedly shows the serious aspirations of the young author. Of the borrowings and imitation, he only refers to such authors as Kastalsky and Grechaninov, which is not a sin on the part of a novice composer. A more specific review of Noskov will be postponed until the next performances. He shows much promise.

5. July & August 1909: Page 304

XVIII очередной концерт СПБ. Церковно-Певческого Общества (500 человек) состоялся под управлением опытного регента И. Я. Тернова, сумевшего покорить громадную армию певцов и достаточно удачно провести концерт. Но интерес к таким концерт там громад, очевидно, упал так как зал Дворянского Собрания был далеко не полон.

The Choral Society (500 people) was held under the direction of an experienced director I. J. Chernov who managed to conquer a great army of singers and was lucky enough to hold a concert. Unfortunately, the interest in this concert within the communities was clearly lacking as the hall of the Noble Assembly was far from full.

6. July & August 1909: Page 305

Как новинка, такие концерты несколько лет тому назад были действительно интересны; теперь-же приходится предпочесть хор с малым количеством голосов, но могущий дать более тонкое исполнение. Как бы ни быть опытен руководитель такого хора, но он не в состоянии достичь того мастерства исполнения, какого он более легко достигает при малочисленном хоре. Если прибавить к тому же, что

[1] The dogmatist is a chant in the liturgy of the Orthodox Church in praise of the Virgin, in this case arranged into a hymn for two voices.

такой хор собирается только раз- два в год для подобных концертов, то еще понятней становится трудность извлечения из него нюансов. Я уже не говорю, что каждый хор их входящих в состав 500 может иметь свою особую постановку, свою манеру исполнения. Все это, и плюс к тому - трудность собирания такой массы на спевки, а потому и невозможность сделать достаточное количество их, говорить за то, что такие концертами более видных хоров из входящих в эту большую семью. Это и с материальной стороны было бы выгоднее, а про художественную и говорить нечего. Большинство любителей духовного пения скорее пойдут слушать отдельные хоры Архангельского, Алексадндро-Невской Лавры (митрополичий) и др. чем концерт хора 500, зная, что от пения этих хоров они получать большее эстетическое наслаждение, чем от пения 500.

Программа отчетного концерта 6 декабря состояла из одиннадцати №№ 1. Царю небесный - г. Д. Соловьева. - 2. Кондак св. ап. Матеию - г. М. Ипполитова Иванова. 3. Хвалите имя Господне – г. В. Самсоненко. 4. Иже херувимы- г. Е. Азеева. - 5. Свете тихий- П. Чайковского.- 6. Сам един еси бессмертный- г. А. Кастальского. - 7. Тебе обращаться- прот. П. Турчанинова. - 8. Виждь мою скорбь- А. Львова. - 9. Господи спаси благочестивыя и Кресту Твоему - г. П. Чеснокова.- 10. Хвалите имя Господне - г. А. Гречанинова и 11. Небеса поведают славу Божию - двухорный концерт Д. Бортнянского.

Более сильное впечатление осталось от дивнаго произведения А. Кастальского “Сам едпн еси бессмертный”. И исполнен этот хор был очень хорошо. Понравилась также “Херувимская” Е. С. Азеева, красиво звучащая в хор. Концерт Сампсониевского Народного хора, состоявшийся 21-го ноября в зале Сампсониевского Христианского Братства, совершенно не может идти в сравнение с тремя вышеперечисленными концертами. Нашумевший своими аршинными рекламами композиторов гг. Гольтисона, Компанейского, Лисицына и Архангельского, концерт хотя и собрал много публики, но воочию убедил, по какому обидно гибельному пути хотят вести эти господа хоровое искусство и духовную музыку.

As a novelty, such concerts a few years ago were really interesting; Now it seems it is necessary to prefer the choir with a small number voices, who is able to give a more subtle rendering in performance. No matter how experienced the leader of the choir, he is still unable to achieve performance excellence, as is more easily reached with the numerically small choir If we add to that the same as a choir gathers only developed twice a year for these concerts, it becomes even more clear the difficulty of extracting its nuances. Not to mention that each of the chorus members of the 500 may have their own special formulation of, its performance manner. All this, plus the fact - the difficulty of collecting a mass at the rehearsals, and therefore the inability to gather a sufficient number of them, speaks to the fact that such prominent concert choirs join as members of this great family. This material would be more beneficial, but about art, it says nothing. Most lovers of spiritual singing soon will go listen to individual choirs such as Arkhangelsky, Alexander Nevsky Lavra (the Metropolitan), and others, more than the concert choir of 500, knowing that from these choirs they get more aesthetic pleasure than from the chorus of 500. The concert program on 6 December consisted of 11 pieces.

1. “Heavenly King” - D. Soloviev
2. “Kontakion[2] of St. Archpriest Matthew” - M. Ippolitov-Ivanov
3. “Praise the Name of the Lord” - V. Samsonenko
4. “Cherubic Hymn” - E. Azeev
5. “Gladsome Light” - P. Chaikovsky
6. “Thou Art Immortal” - A. Kastalsky
7. “I Seek You” - Archpriest P. Turchaninov
8. “Behold My Sorrow” - A. Lvov
9. “Lord, Save the Righteous, and Your Cross” - P. Chesnokov
10. “Praise the Name of the Lord” - A. Grechaninov
11. “The Heavens Declare the Glory of God” - double choir concerto D. Bortniansky

The strongest impression was left by the marvelous works of Alexander Kastalsky “Thou Art Immortal.” As performed by this choir, it was very good. I also liked the “Cherubic Hymn” by E. S. Azeev. The beautifully sounding choir in concert, St. Sampson Folk choir, held on 21 November in the hall of the Sampson Christian Brotherhood, absolutely cannot be compared with the above three concerts. Their measure of promoting the composers Goltana, Kompaneiesky, Lisitsyn and Arkhangelsky was sensational. Although the concert gathered a large audience, I am personally convinced of what a shame it is, the disastrous way these gentlemen want to lead the choral art and spiritual music.

7. February 1910: Page 41

Хор Л-.гв. Измайловского полка (Троицкий собор) существует частью на полковые средства, частью на собственные доходы. Состав его равняется 77 чел. и распределен таким образом: диск. 25, альт. 15 тен. 17 и бас. 20 чел. В число взрослых певчих не только нижние чины (разумеется, без жалованья), но и вольнонаемные, получающие от 25 до 40 руб. Что касается мальчиков - в большинстве случаев сирот- то таковые, как и нижние чины, пользуются полным содержанием и безплатным обучением.

С 1908 г. хором управляет П. И. Рыжков, кстати заметить, - пятый регент за последние 9-10 лет. За это время хор не выступал с самостоятельными концертами; на богослужениях поет сочинения следующих авторов: Азеева, Аллеманова, Архангельского, Бахметева, Беневкого, Березовского, Бортнянского, Веделя, Ztноградова, Голицына, Гольтисона, Гречанинова, Григорьева, Давыдова, Дегтярова, Демченко, Жданова, Иванова, Кастальскаго, Каченовскаго, Копылова, Ломакина, Львова, Львовскаго, Соколова, Соловьева, Старорусскаго, Строкнира, Турчанинова, Фатеева, Чайковскаго и Чеснокова.

[2] Kontakion (Greek. κοντάκιον from κοντός – stick on which was tied a roll of parchment) is a genre of Byzantine hymnography of the Church in the form of a poetic narrative of the sermon devoted to one or another Church holiday.

Хор церкви св. пр. Илии (Охтенского порохового завод) в количестве 18 чел. обеспечивается церковным доходом. В состав теноровой (4 чел.) и басовой (4 чел.) партии входят исключительно любители их писцов и рабочих, получающих от 3 до 8 руб. в месяц. Дискантовую (6 чел.) и альтовую (4 чел.) партию поют девочки и мальчики, набранные из местных школе. Плата девлчкам определена от 50 к. до 9 руб. в мес, а мальчикам - от 50 до 5 руб. Под управлением Г. Данилова исполняют произведения: Архангельскаго, Бахметева, Бортнянскаго, Григорьева, Гречанинова, Жданова, Зайцева, Иванова, Ф., Копылова, Лирина, Львова, Турчанинова и проч.

Хор Казанского собора существует с освящения храма - в 1811 году. В начале количество хора простиралось до 25 чел. взрослых и мальчиков, набранных исключительно их воспитанников семинарии и духовного училища. Впоследствии воспитанники заменены были вольнонаемными певчими, средства на содержание которых отпускались из доходов собора.

The choir of the Izmailovsky Life Guards Regiment (first infantry division of the Russian Imperial Guard) which sang at the Trinity Cathedral was partially funded by the regiment, partially on its own revenues. Its composition of 77 members was distributed as follows: 25 descant (treble), 15 altos, 17 tenors, and 20 basses. In the number of adult choristers, members of the lower ranks received no additional salary for their singing duties, but civilians received from 25 to 40 rubles. Boys in most of the cases were orphans, and thus the same as the lower ranks “are fully content and receive free training.”

Under the direction of P.I. Ryzhkov for almost ten years by 1908, the ensemble is recorded of having performed no public concerts. However, the article provided an extensive list of composters performed during worship by the chorus: Azeeva, Allemanov, Arkhangelsky, Bahmetev, Benevolo, Berezovsky, Bortniansky, Vedel, Stagedive, Golitsyn, Goldiana, Grechaninov, Grigoriev, Davydov, Degtiarov, Demchenko, Zhdanov, Ivanov, Kastalsky, Kachenovsky, Kopylov, Lomakin, Lviv, Lvov, Sokolov, and Soloviev of the old Russian style, along with Stroknir, Turchaninov, Fateev, Chaikovsky, and Chesnokov.

The choir of the Church of St. Elijah (in the Malaia Okhta district where the gunpowder factory is located) in the amount of 18 people is provided finances from the Church income. Amateur singers made of clerks and church workers (basses, 4 parts and tenors, 4 parts) received from 3 to 8 rubles per month. Treble (6) and Alto (4) parts, the singing girls and boys are recruited from a local school. Fees for the girls are determined from 50 kopeks to 9 rubles per month, and the boys from 50 kopeks to 5 rubles per month. Under the guidance of Danilov they perform works by Arkhangelsky, Bakhmetev, Bortniansky, Grigoriev, Grechaninov, Zhdanov, Zaitsev, Ivanov, Kopylov, Lirin, Lviv, Turchaninov, and so on.

The choir of the Kazan Cathedral has existed since the consecration of the Church in 1811. In an early number of the choir was extended to 25 people adults and boys, recruited solely by their students of the Seminary and religious school. Subsequently, the pupils were replaced by a civilian choir, the contents of which are dispensed from the income of the Cathedral.

8. February 1910: Page 42

В Таком составе, т. е. в 25 чел., хор существовал до 1888 г., когда стараниями бывшего настоятеля собора - прот. А. А. Лебедева и старосты гр. Н. Ф. Гейдена хор был увеличен до 35 чел. Затем, по мере расширения помещения (причтом и старостою приобретены были два дома по Казанской ул.), тем же настоятелем А. А. Лебедевым и старостой А. Г. Чадаевым хор пополнен еще 15-ю певцами. Таким образом, к началу 1898 г. хор-Казанского собора состоял уже их 50 чел. В марте 1898 г., за смерти прот. Е. И. Мегорскии, к счастию, человек гуманный и отзывчивый к нуждам певческих тружеников.

С 1886 по 1891 г. во главе Казанского хора стоял А. Фатеев, а затем его сменил сын его- В. А., тогда еще ученик консерватории. По окончании образования - в 1894 г. В. П. Фатеев всецело посвятил себя служению церковно- певческому делу и по настоящее время руководит хором Казанского собора. Хор состоит из дисконтов, 12 альт., 11 теноров и 15 басов.

In this form of 25 people, the choir existed until 1888, when the efforts of the former rector of the Cathedral - A. A. Lebedev and warden of N. F. Heiden choir was increased to 35 people. Then, as room expanded (the clergy and the headman was bought two houses in Kazanskaya street), in the same abbot, A. A. Lebedev and A. G. Chaadaev expanded the choir with 15 singers. Thus, by the beginning of 1898 the choir of the Kazan Cathedral was already 50 people. In March 1898, the death of E. I. Nagorsky, fortunately, people are humane and responsive to the needs of the singing workers.

From 1886 to 1891 at the head of the Kazan choir stood A. Fateev, and then he was replaced by his son - B. A., then a student of the Conservatory. After graduation in 1894, V. P. Fateev entirely devoted himself to the service of the choral business and currently directs the choir of the Kazan Cathedral. The choir consists of descant (treble2 alto, 11 tenors and 15 basses.

9. March 1910: Page 70-71

Митрополичий хор Александро-Невской лавры состоит из 100 чел. профессиональных певцов. По партиям они распределяются следующим образом: 35 диск., 30 альт., 16 тен. и столько же басов. Дискантовую и альтовую партии исполняют мальчики, содержащиеся в лавре на полном пансионе.

Хор церкви св. Марии Магдалины (М. Охта) состоит из 9 чел. (диск. 3, альт. 2, тен. 2 и бас. 2).Хором управляет (3 года) В. Ф. Арсеньев, а предшественником его быль Д. С. Бубнов. В начале пели любители безвозмездно, теперь же из отпускаемых церковных сумме (130 р. мес.) плата певцам производится следующая: взрослым от 7 до 20 р., а детям от 3 до 7 руб. в месяц.

Хор ц. Преображенского Синодального Подворья основан около 20 лет назад (рег. И. Иванов), когда эта церковь, из ведения обер-священника, перешла в

св. Синод и была переименована в Преображенское Синодальное Подворье. С 1901 г. этот хор, певший под управл. покойного П. А. Кузнецова, был смешанным (мужч. и женщ.). В 1903 г. он перешел в В. М. Пронину и вследствие желания архиепископ. Николая, живущего в этом подворье, хор преобразовался в мужской (с 1905 г.) и состоит тепер всего из 8 чел., преимущественно чиновников. Содержание отпускается св. Синодом в размере 1230 руб. в год, причем певцы получают от 6 до 18 руб., а регент - 30-32 руб. в месяц. В репертуар входят переложения для мужских голосов: Архангельского, Бортнянского, Гольтисона, Львова, Панченко, Рубца, Чайковского и др. В настоящее время, за неимением старосты, обязанности смотрителя церкви исполняет, не без влияния на репертуар хора, чиновник св. Синода Г. А. Черников.

The Metropolitan choir of the Alexander Nevsky Lavra consists of 100 people, all of which are professional singers. Voice divisions are as follows: 35 trebles, 30 altos, 16 tenors, and 16 basses. Boys living in the abbey on a full boarding basis perform the treble and alto voices.

The choir of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene consisted of nine people (three trebles, two altos, two tenors, and two basses). The chorus was led for three years by V. F. Arsenyev, and his predecessor, D. S. Bubnov. At the beginning, amateurs performed for no fee. Now the church allocates the sum of 130 rubles per month for singers. This equates to payment for adults as 7 to 20 rubles and children from 3 to 7 rubles a month. The ensemble regularly utilized works by the composers Arkhangelsky, Bortniansky, Ippolitov-Ivanov, Lvov, Fateev, and Chaikovsky.

The choir under the precentor Ivanov, from the jurisdiction of the chief priest of the Synodal monastery founded about 20 years ago, moved to Transfiguration Square and was renamed the Transfiguration Cathedral. Since 1901, the mixed (male and female) choir sang under control of the late P. Kuznetsov. In 1903, he joined V. M. Pronin and in accord with the desires of Archbishop Nikolas, who lives in the courtyard, the choir was transformed into an all male ensemble (since 1905) and now consists of only 8 people, mostly officials. The Holy Synod designated funds in the amount of 1,230 rubles a year. The singers receive from 6 to 18 rubles, and precentor 30-32 rubles per month. The repertoire consists of arrangements for mixed voices: Arkhangelsky, Bortniansky, Goldiana, Lvov, Panchenko, Rubsta, Chaikovsky, etc. Currently, in the absence of elders, the duties of the overseer of the church (an officer of the Holy Synod - G. A. Chernikov) is not without influence on the repertoire of the choir.

10. March 1910: Page 72

Количество хора достигает 128 чел., из которого: взрослых певчих 36 чел. и 2 уставщика *), мальчиков штатных (поющих в хоре) - 60 чсл., нештатных (частью поющих, частью подготовляющихся) - 30 чел. Все мальчики обязаны обучаться в регентских классах, учрежденных в 1908 г. вместо прежних, ныне закрытых для посторонних лице. В настоящее время (послее Е. С. Азеева и С. А. Смирнова) регентом капеллы состоит П. А. Богданов, и при нем 3 помощника. Из средстве

отпускаемых министерством Императорского Двора на содержание капеллы, годовое жалованье певцам и руководителям распределяется следующим образом.

Регенту- 2250 руб. - квартирн. 750 р. (кроме командировочных), помощнику около 2 1/2 тыс. руб. (с кварт.), уставщинам по 1200 руб. - кварт. 450 руб., взрослым певцам: по I раз. (12 чел.) по 1000 руб. - кварт. 450 р. и наградн. 166 руб., по II разр. (12 чел.) по 900 р.- кварт. 450 р. и нагр. 150 р., по III разр. (12 чел.) по 750 р. - кварт. 450 р. и нагр. 125 р.

Что касается репертуара, то он, следуя традициям, ограничивается большею частью придворными композиторами старой школы (Галуппи, Сарти, Бортнянский, Львов, Бахметев, Ломакин и т. п.). Впрочем, в последние годы, хор не мало места уделяет особенно с своих концертах и новейшим авторам, как напр. Гречанинову, Ипполитову-Иванову, Кастальскому, и проч. Народный хор церкви преп. Самсона Странноприимца (бывш. Антониевский) поет с 1907 г. под управл. А. И. Ильштрем. Разумеется, количество его, как любительского хора, не ограничено, оно колеблется приблизительно между 30-40 чел. Репертуар состоит из сочинений Архангельского, Бортнянского, Виноградова, Львова, Смоленского, Турчанинова, Фатеева, Чайковского и друг.

The number of choir reaches 128 people, of which: adult song 36 people and 2 of the arranger *), the regular boys (singing in the choir) - 60 CSL., nonstandard (part singing, part podgotovitsya) - 30 people. All boys are required to study at the Precentor's school, established in 1908 instead of the previous, now closed to outsiders face. Currently (after Azeeva, E. S. and S. A. Smirnova) Precentor chapel is by P. A. Bogdanov, and 3 assistants. From the means supplied by the Ministry of the Imperial court for the maintenance of the chapel, a yearly stipend singers and leaders is divided as follows.

The precentor received 2,250 rubles, and 750 rubles for an apartment (except travel), the assistants received 2,500 rubles (with apartment), the preacher 1,200 rubles, and 450 rubles for their apartment. The adult singers were grouped into three categories of stipends. The first category of allowance, 12 people received 1,000 rubles, 450 rubles for an apartment, and a onetime award of 166 rubles. In the second category of allowance, 12 people received 900 rubles, 450 for an apartment and heating, and a onetime aware of 150 rubles. The third category of allowance, 12 people received 750 rubles, and 450 rubles for an apartment and heating, with a single award of 125 rubles.

As for repertoire, following the tradition for the most part confined selection to the court composers of the old school (Galuppi, Sarti, Bortniansky, Lvov, Bakhmetev, Lomakin, etc.). However, in recent years, the choir not little care of especially with their concerts and contemporary authors, as eg. Grechaninov, Ippolitov-Ivanov, Kastalsky, and so on. The Folk Choir of the Church of St. Samson the Hospitable (ex. Antoniev) has been singing since 1907 under the direction of AI Ilshtrem. Of course, the amount of members, it as an amateur choir, is not limited, but varies between approximately 30-40 people. The repertoire includes works of Arkhangelsky, Bortniansky, Vinogradov, Lvov, Smolensky, Turchaninov, Fateev, Chaikovsky, and others.

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Хор церкви св. Симеония в настоящее время поет под управл. П. Г. Здобнова и состоит из 11 чел. мужч. и женщин (диск. 4, альт. 2, тен. 2 и бас. 3). Жалованье мужчинам полагается от 15 до 25 руб., а женщинам - от 6 до 25 р. в месяц (церковь отпускает на хор 2400 р. в год). Регент жалованья не получает, а пользуется исключительно доходом. Репертуар: Архангельский, Бахметев, Бортнянский, Ведел, Григорьев, Дегтярев, Лирин, Львов, Турчанинов, и др.

Хор церкви Всех Святых, что при Ушаковском земском училище, основан в 1874 г. одним из псаломщиков - впоследствии регентом (фамилия не известна). Развитие хора началось при регенте А. П. Иванове через 2-3 года после его возникновения; дальнейшему же развитию способствовали его преемники, из коих следует отметить известного композитора В. М. Орлова, а из певцов В. С. Шаронова, ныне арт. Имп. Театров. В настоящее время в хор участвует 27 чел. (диск. 12, альт. 7, тен. и бас. по 4 чел.) преимущественно любителей из числа служащих и мастеровых ближайших заводов и местных обывательнице. Средства на содержание хора отпускаются их церковных доходов. Со времени организации хора средства эти выражались в сумме 120 руб. в год, теперь же он возросли до 1320 руб. женщинам. За все время своего существования Ушаковский хор выступал в концертах всего 2 раза, из них однажды самостоятельно; с 1908 г. хор ежегодно поет 2-3 раза в Ушаковском училище на воскресных чтениях, исполняя кроме духовных сочинений и светские. Общий же репертуар состоит из сочинений Архангельского, Бортнянского, Веделя, Вифляева, Дегтярева, Лирина, Львова. Львовского, Орлова, Строкина, Турчанинова, Фатеева, (В.) Чайковского, и друг.

The choir of the Church of St. Simeone currently sings under the direction of. P. G. Zdobnov and consists of 11 people (men and women) assigned as 4 trebles, 2 altos, 2 tenors, and 3 basses. The salary for men is from 15 to 25 rubles, and the women from 6 to 25 rubles per month. (The church spends approximately 2,400 rubles per year on the chorus). The precentor receives no salary, and only uses income earned by the chorus through fundraising events and donations. Their repertoire consists of Arkhangelsky, Bakhmetev, Bortniansky, Wedel, Grigoriev, Degtiarev, Lirin, Lvov, Turchaninov, etc.

The choir of the Church of All Saints was founded in 1874 by one of the acolytes at the Ushakovskaia District School. The development of the chorus began under the precentor AP Ivanov, two to three years after its origin. The well-known composer V. Orlov, and the singers V. S. Sharonov, now artists at the Imperial Theatres, also contributed to the development. Currently, the choir is comprised of 27 people (12 trebles, 7 altos, 4 tenors, and 4 basses) mostly amateurs from among the servants and workmen of the nearby factories and local inhabitants. Funds for the maintenance of the choir came from ecclesiastical revenues. Since the beginning of the organization, the choir funds originally amounted to 120 rubles a year, but now it has increased to 1320 rubles a year for members. Throughout its existence, the Ushakovsky choir performed in public concerts only two times, one of them independently; since 1908 the choir sings two or three times a year at the Ushakovskaia District School in Sunday readings, in addition to fulfilling the spiritual and secular works. The general repertoire includes

works of Arkhangelsky, Bortniansky, Vedel, Vifliaev, Degtyarev, Lirin, Lvov, Orlov, Strokin, Turchaninov, V. Fateev, Chaikovsky, and many others.

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Хор Д. Ф. Яковлева, состоящий из 70 чел., организован в августе 1905 г. регентом и содержателем его Д. Ф. Яковлевым. Распределение хора по партиям: диск. 25, альт. 15, тен. 14, столько же басов и 3 регента. Средства на содержание хор получает (кроме треб) в в виде жалования от тех церквей, в которых поет, именно: 1) от церкви Спаса на Сенной (рег. В. А. Федоров), 2) от церкви Благовещения, что на Вас. Остр., 3) от церк. Богадельни имени Имп. Александры Феодоровны (Вас. Остр.) и 4) от церкви Горного Института (Вас. Остр.).

До этого, в трех последних церквах, пеле хор Л.гв. Финляндского полка, из которого - после 30 летн. службы в качестве регента - Д. Ф. Яковлев вышел в отставку и взялся поставит хор в означенные храмы от себя. В составе хора входят, кроме взрослых, девицы и мальчики. Последние набраны из школе, а девицы из любительских хоров, получая здесь от 8 до 15 руб., в месяц. Взрослые получают от 20 до 40 руб., а на долю регента приходится около 70 руб. В концертах польный хор не выступает, за исключением взрослых певцов, состоящих членам “ Ц.Певч. Бл. О-ва.”. Репертуар, обширный: рядлм с композиторами старой школы не редко исполняются: Архангельский, Извеков, Компанейский, Копылов, Полуэктов, Чесноков и мн. друг.

D. F. Yakovlev’s choir, consisting of 70 people, was organized in August 1905 by the precentor and the maintainer himself, D. Yakovlev. Distribution of the choir by parts: 25 trebles, 15 altos, 14 tenors, the same number of basses and 3 precentors. The choir receives money for the maintenance (except for gifts) in the form of a salary from those churches in which it sings, namely: 1) from the Church of the Savior on Sennaya (precentor–V.A. Fedorov), 2) from the Church of the Annunciation, that is on Vasilevsky Island. 3) from the Church of Almshouse named for Alexandra Fëdorovna (Vasilevsky Island), And 4) from the Church of the Mining Institute (Vasilevsky Island).

After 30 years in service as precentor – D.F. Yakovlev resigned and undertook putting the chorus into designated churches by themselves. The choir includes girls and boys, in addition to adults. The youth recently recruited from school, and the girls from amateur choirs, receive from 8 to 15 rubles per month. Adults receive from 20 to 40 rubles, while the share of precentor accounts for about 70 rubles per month. In concerts the full chorus does not perform, except for adult singers. The repertoire is vast, with composers of the old school not infrequently performed: Arkhangelsky, Izvekov, Kompaneisky, Kopylov, Poluektov, Chesnokov and many others.

13. March 1910: Page 102

Посмотрим теперь, насколько репертуар петербургских хоров удовлетворяет требованиям времени и вообще, на каком уровне стоить церковно-

певческое дело в столице. Из вышеприведенного перечня исполняемых композиторов мы видели, что репертуар придворного певчих капеллы и Исаакиевского собора имеет за некоторыми исключениями свой определенный рамки, предоставляются композиторам преимущественно старой школы. - Здесь, конечно, нельзя не видеть влияния окружающей сферы, в которой традиция свивает себе прочное гнездо. Что касается прочих хоров, то у них репертуар значительно обширнее и разнообразнее. Далее, по степени потребитель ности сочинений, авторы распределяются в следующем порядке.

Первое место занимают Виноградов и Львовский; второе - Бахметевь, Ведель, Дегтярев, Кастальский и Чесноков; третье - Гречанинов, Давыдов, Ипполитов-Иванов, Старорусский и Фатеев; четвертое- Березовский, Ломакин, Панченко, Р-Корсаков, Строкин и Сарти; пятое - Воротников, Гольтисон, Лиринь и Соловьев; шестое - Галуппи, Григорьев, Компанейский, Копылов, Лисицын, Орлов, и Соломинь; седьмое - Азеевь Аллемановь, Аренский, Беневский, Вифляевь, Голицын, Ждановь, Ивановь, Извековь, Калинниковь, Лавровь, Полуэктовь и Смоленский. Сочинения остальных композиторов исполняются весьма немногими хорами. Большинство регентов не задаются идейностью, и как показали нам данныя, они все дело обращают внимание прежде всего на музыкальное "благозвучие" сочинения независмо от его направления или стиля.

Let us now see how the repertoire of the St. Petersburg choir meets the requirements of time and generally, at what level of cost the choral affairs in the capital. From the above list of composers performed we have seen that the repertoire of the Court Chapel and St. Isaac’s Cathedral are mostly composers of the old school, with some exceptions to certain circumstances. Here, of course, one cannot ignore the impact of the environmental sphere in which tradition builds a strong nest. With regards to other choirs, their repertoire is much larger and more diverse. It goes without saying that no choir is complete without Bortniansky, Lvov, and Turchaninov, and if anyone can compete with them in popularity, these would be Arkhangelsky, and Chaikovsky. Further, according to the degree of consumer awareness of the works, the authors shall be distributed in the following order.

The first place is occupied Lviv and Vinogradov; second Bahmetev, Vedel, Degtiarev, Kastalsky and Chesnokov; third - Grechaninov, Davydov, Ippolitov-Ivanov, and Fateev; fourth - Berezovsky, Lomakin, Panchenko, Rimsky-Korsakov, Strokin, and Sarti; fifth - Vorotnikov, Golitson, Lirin, and Soloviev; the sixth Galuppi, Grigoriev, Kompaneisky, Kopylov, Lisitsyn, Orlov, and Solomin; seventh – Aseev, Allemanov, Arensky, Benevsky, Vifliaev, Golitsyn, Zhdanov, Ivanov, Izvekov, Kalinnikov, Lavrov, Poluektov, and Smolensky. The works of other composers performed by a very few choirs. Most of the precentors are not set by ideology, and as they showed what they want to perform, they are all primarily concerned with the musical "harmony" of the work, regardless of its direction or style.

14. April 1910: Page 100

Здесь взрослые певцы получают всего лишь от 6 до 12 руб. в мес., т. е. менее, чем церковные сторожа. Дети же совершенно ничего не получают, в силу чего регент принужден два раза в год производит для них сборы по прихожанам. Не многим лучше оплачивается и хор Преображенского Синодального подворья, где на 8 чел. певцов и регента приходится 102 р. 50 к. в месяц. Точно такую же сумму получает Ушаковский хор из 27 чел.

Here adult singers get only from 6 to 12 rubles per month, i.e. less than a church janitor. The children absolutely do not get anything, which is why the precentor is forced twice a year to produce for them the fees from parishioners. Not much better paid is the Transfiguration choir of the Synodal Metochion, where 8 people singers and precentor receive a total of 102 rubles, 50 kopeks in a month. The exact same amount is received by the Ushakovsky choir of 27 people.

15. April 1910: Page 101

Более нормальное экономическое положение мы видим в Казанском соборе. Здесь нет казенного стола, но за то певец обеспечен квартирою и определенным жалованьем. Правда, жалованье от 30 до 40 руб. не велико, но в связи с современными условиями, какие мы наблюдаем в певческом быту, оно более или менее удовлетворительно. Почти такое же жалованье получает и певцы Елисеевского хора (40-50 р.). При этом казенной квартиры им не полагается, но если взять во внимание квартирные цены на Б. Охте (район церкви), то в результате получается от жалованья приблизительно также цифра, что и в вышеприведенном соборе Хотя, в данном случае, следует оговориться, что квартирная расценка - вещь условная. В лучшие условия, чем где-либо (кроме придворной певческой капеллы), поставлены певчие Исаакиевского собора, получающие не только определенное вознаграждение, квартиру, но и столь. Что касается остальных хоров, как напр. К. К. Бирючева, Д. Ф. Яковлева, Л-гв. Л-гв. Измайловского полка, Смольного собора и проч., где не существует казенных квартир, жалованье певцам в размере от 15 до 40 руб. нельзя признать по петербургской жизни достаточным. Понятно, что при таком экономическом положении церковных певцов невольно обращаеш внимание на придворную певческую капеллу, где как мы видели, каждый певец имеет вознаграждение вполне приличное, с точки зрения современных условий в церковных хорах. Получающему напр. по III разряду 750 руб., т. е. более 60 руб. в мес. + нагр. 125 р. в год и к тому же, казенную квартиру, придворному певцу не приходится заботиться о завтрашнем дне; это - чиновнике с определившимся материальным и общественным положением, которому нет надобности - подобно прочим своим собратьям - не взирая на погоду, провожать по петербургским улицам покойника, чтобы этим заработать свое 30-40 рублевое жалованье.

Таким образом, сообразно певческому заработку оплачивается и регентский труд. Так напр., рег. церкви св. кн. Александра-Невского (пр Морском госпитале)

зарабатывает всего лишь 20-25 р. в мес., регент хора Крестовоздвиженской общины сестер милосердия- 40 р. в мес., регент церкви св. общины сестер милосердия - 40 р. в мес., церкви св. пр. Илии- 23 руб., регент хора Преображенского Синодального подворья - 30-32 руб., регент Греческой посольской церкви - 15 руб. в мес.

We see a more normal economic situation in the Kazan Cathedral. There is no treasury desk, but the singer is secured an apartment and a certain salary. However, the salary from 30 to 40 rubles is not great, but in modern terms of how we observe singing in the home, it is more or less satisfactory. While government-owned houses are not entitled, if you take into account housing prices in the Okhta district (near the Church), then the result is a salary of approximate to what others received in the Cathedral. Although, in this case, one should mention that the apartment rate is a conditional element. It is better conditions than anywhere else (except the choristers of St. Isaac's Cathedral), as they receive not only a certain fee, but also an apartment, and such. As for the other choirs, such as K. K. Biryuchev, D. F. Yakovlev, the Izmailovsky regiment, Smolny Cathedral, etc., there are no state-owned apartments, and the salaries of singers ranging from 15 to 40 rubles should not be recognized as enough to live in St. Petersburg. It is clear that from this economic position of church singers involuntarily pay attention to the Court Chapel, where as we have seen, every singer has quite decent reward, in terms of the current conditions in church choirs. Receiving within the third rank 750 rubles, i.e. more than 60 rubles per month plus a supplement of 125 rubles in a year and the state apartments. The court singer need not to worry about tomorrow. It is the officer's duty to determine their financial and social situation. Therefore, they have no need, like his counterpart who has to escort corpses down the St. Petersburg streets regardless of the weather to earn his 30-40 ruble salary.

The precentor at the Church of St. Alexander Nevsky (St. Naval hospital) earns only 20-25 rubles per month. The choir director of Holy Cross Community of the Sisters of Mercy earns 40 rubles per month, the precentor of the Community of the Sisters of Mercy – 40 rubles per month, the Church of St. Elijah – 23 rubles, the Transfiguration choir director of the Synodal Monastery – 30-32 rubles, and the precentor of the Greek Embassy Church – 15 rubles per month.

16. April 1910: Page 102

И надо полагать, что в Петербурге немало найдется церквей, где регенты, подобно регенту церкви св. Симеония - совсем ничего не получают. Впрочем, бывают и такие случаи, когда регент не только расходует свое жалованье на нужды хора, но еще из собственных добавляет. Пример этому - регент Греческой посольской церкви. Вот при каких материальных условиях этим труженикам приходится радеть о церковном пении, радеть об его благолепии и, наконец, в художественном отношении по возможности удовлетворять требованиям времени.

I suppose that in St. Petersburg there are many churches where the precentors, like that of the Church of St. Simeone – receive nothing at all. However, there are cases when the precentor not only spends his paycheck on the needs of the choir, but also supplements from their own personal finances. An example of this is the precentor of the

Greek Embassy Church. These are the conditions necessary to oblige workers to Church singing, to oblige him of the splendor and finally artistry to meet the demands of the times.

17. April 1910: Page 105

4 апреля состоялся духовный концерт Кружка любителей церковного пения при Братстве Пресв. Богородицы. Под управлением А. Н. Николова была исполнена программа, посвященная опытам гармонизации знаменного распева от XVVII в. и кончая современными.

4-го сентября состоялось открытие занятий в русском обществе любителей пения и музыки в новом помещения общества велисипедистове на Литейном пр. Было отслужено молебствие, во время которого пел хор любителей. По окончании молебна состоялось общее собрание для определения размера членских взносов и составления сметы. Бюджет на предстоящий сезон определен в сумме около 2 1/2 тысяч рублей.

April 4 was the concert by the Circle of Church Music Lovers at the Brotherhood of the Blessed Virgin under the direction of A. N. Nikolov. The program was devoted to the experiences of harmonization of znamenny chant from XVII century and ending with pieces of modern sacred work.

On the 4th of September the opening of classes took place at the Russian Society of Music and Singing Lovers in the new premises of the Cycling Society at Litany avenue. It served as a prayer service, during which the amateurs sang the chorus. At the end of the prayer service was held a general meeting to determine the amount of membership dues and budgeting. The budget for the coming season is determined in the amount of about 2,500 rubles.

18. May & June 1910: Page 140

10 мая в церкви Братства св. Серафима Саровского, за нарвской Заставой, во время богослужения вес хор певчих прекратил пение и демонстративно оставил храм. Произошла долгая пауза; случайные певцы оканчивали службу. Инцидент произошел на почве недовольства любительского хора свящ. о. Б. Клеандровым, якобы удерживающим част денег, подлежащих выдаче членам хора, или заменяющим денежную плату угощением. При храм имеется, второй хор любителей, продолжающий исполнять церковные службы. Регентом обоих хоров состоить г. Башкировъ.

On May 10 at the Church of the Brotherhood of the Saints, Seraphim of Sarov, on the Narva Gate, during the service the majority of choir singers stopped singing and demonstratively left the church. There was a long pause; the remaining few singers ended the service. The incident took place on the grounds of the choir member’s dissatisfaction about the priest B. Kleandrovym allegedly holding a large portion of money that was

supposed to be issued to members of the choir, or some kind of equivalent compensation for their performances. When a church encounters such an issue, a secondary choir is brought in to perform church services. The precentor of both choirs remains Bashkirov.

B. *Muzykalno-teatralnyĭ sovremennik* (*Contemporary Musical Theater*)

1. 24 December 1900: No. 3, Page 11

43-й общедоступный симфонический концерт оркестра и хора графа А. Д. Шереметева состоится в зале Кононова, в воскресенье, 31 декабря, в программу войдут- увертюра к опере Чайковсного (исп. г-жа П. М. Иванова), фортепианный b-moll'ный концерт Чайковского (партию фортепиано исп. г. Миклашевский), и сцены из оперы "Игорь" (увертюра, каватина Владимира Игоревича и Кончаковны, ария Игоря, хор поселян, пляска половецких девушек и т. д.).

43rd public Symphony concert orchestra and choir of count A. D. Sheremetev held in Kononov auditorium, Sunday, December 31, the program will include the Overture to the opera by Chaikovsky. Mrs. P. M. Smith), piano concerto in B-flat minor by Chaikovsky (the piano part performed by Miklashevsky), and scenes from the opera *Igor* (the Overture, a Cavatina of Vladimir Igorevich and Konchakovna's Aria from *Igor*, chorus of villagers, dance of the Polovtsian girls, etc.).

2. May 1901: No. 20, Page 2.

За неделю. С.-Петербург. В. программу второго публичного концерта придворного оркестра вошли пьесы П. Бурго-Дикубрэ "La Conjuration des fleurs" (сатирическая драма) и А. Глазунова "Коронационная Кантата Бурго-Дикубрэ известен скорее своими учеными трудами по собиранию народных новогреческих и бретонских напевов, нежели по своему композиторскому таланту, хотя последний явно обнаружился в характерной и интересной гармонизации к названных напевам, сборники которых, составленные с основательным знанием дела, пользуются большою популярностью как среди специалистов, так и среди остальных меломанов. С сочинениями г. Бурго-Дикубрэ впервые нас познакомила г-жа Долина в одном из концертов придворного оркестра в начал 1899 года, спевши его "Melancola", несу красивую, восточного типа. Тому же придворному оркестру выпала ныне задача популяризации более крупнаго произведения Бурго-Дикубрэ. "Заговор цветов" появился впервые в Париже, 27 января н. ст. 1883 года: фактура пьесы отличается простотою и ясностью, хотя вместе с тем ансамбли представляют исполнителям не мало технических трудностей: мелодии не всегда легко усвояемы. В общем же пьеса изящная и градиозная. - "Коронационной кантате" г. Глазунова присущи все характерныя черты его огромного композиторскаго таланта- гармонизация сочная, оркестровка колоритная, густая и в

тоже время везде оттеняет партию, мелодический рисунок индивидуален, но всегда ясен и понятен.

The program of the second public concert of the orchestra of the court included the play by L. Bourgault-Ducoudray “La Conjuration des fleurs” (the satirical drama) and Alexander Glazunov’s “Coronation Cantata.” Bourgault-Ducoudray known more for his scholarly works on collecting Modern Greek and Breton folk tunes, rather than on his composing talent. The latter is clearly shown in a characteristic and interesting harmonization of these tunes, which are collections made up with a thorough knowledge of the matter, is very popular among professionals and other music lovers. From the writings of Bourgault-Ducoudray first introduced us to Ms. Valley in one of the concerts of the court orchestra at the beginning of 1899, singing his “Melanclola”, which is in a beautiful, Oriental style. Besides, the court orchestra had the task of popularizing the now larger work Bourgault-Ducoudray. “ La conjuration des fleurs” appeared for the first time in Paris on January 27, 1883; the texture of the songs is simple and clear, but there were quite a few performers with struggled with technical difficulties; the music is not always easily digestible. In general, the piece is elegant and grandiose. “Coronation Cantata” of Glazunov has all the features of his enormous compositional talent; the harmonization is juicy, orchestration is colorful and dense, and at the same time everywhere accentuates vocals, melodic pattern is different, but always clear and understandable. At times, notably brow-raising – the mood of introspection wins out. The exception to this is the first chorus, written with great panache, and the wonderful prayer, artistically executed by Chuprinniquvym. The complete lack of raised intensity to the finale was not to blame on the orchestral performance. Were not the pace and subtleties nuances of the remaining pieces of Bourgault-Ducoudray (conducted by talented Werlich) worthy of all praise?

3. 8 September 1901: No. 36, Page 10

В помещении об-ва музыкальных педагогов и других музыкальных деятелей (Гороховая, 46), производилась проба голосов для любительского хора об-ва, организуемого г. Тухолкою., даровитым хормейстером горячо преданным делу хорового пения. Пока зачислено 75 человек. Об-во образует хор для бесплатного участия в участия в устраиваемых обществом концертах, музыкально-вокальных вечерах, общественных собраниях и т. д. Для поступления в хор требуется голос и умение читат ноты с листа. Как уже сказано, управлят хором будет В. А. Тухолка.

In the meeting room of the Society of Music Teachers and Other Music Professionals (Gorokhovaia, 46), carried the vote on the testing for amateur choir of the Society, was organized by Tuholka, the gifted choirmaster ardently devoted to the cause of choral singing. So far, 75 people are enrolled. The forms of the chorus have been agreed upon for free participation in the arranged public concerts, musical and vocal gatherings, public meetings, and so on. For admission to the choir is required a voice and the ability to read sheet music. As already said, managing the chorus will be V. A. Tuholka.

4. 4 November 1901: No. 44, Page 11

В воскресенье, 4 ноября, в зале Нового Театра (бывш. зале Кононова), в 2 часа дня, состоится 51 общедоступный концерт оркестра и хора графа А. Д. Шереметева. В программу вошли оркестровая сюита Римскаго-Корсакова “Сказка о царе Салтане”, “Бура” Чайковского, отрывки их “Рогданы” Даргомыжского и “Князя Холмского” Глинки, “фантазия на русския темы” (соло для скрипки, с сопровождением оркестра). Н. А. Римского-Корсакова. Управляют: оркестром г. Владимров, хором г. Софронов. Солисты г-жи Данковская, Пржебылецкая, гг. *** (пение) и Армандо Цанибони (скрипка).

Sunday, November 4, in the hall of the New Theatre (formerly the Kononov auditorium) at 2 p.m., will be held the 51st public concert of the orchestra and chorus of the count A. D. Sheremetev. The program included orchestral suite of Rimsky-Korsakov, “The Tale of Tsar Saltan”, “The Tempest” by Chaikovsky, excerpts from “Rogdany” by Dargomyzhsky, “Prince Kholmsky” by Glinka, and “Fantasy on Russian Themes” (solo for violin with accompaniment of orchestra) by N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov. Managing the orchestra was Mr. Vladimirov, and conducting the choir was Sofronov. Soloists were Mrs. Dankovskaia, Przhebyletskaia, *** (singing) and Armando Zaniboni (violin).

5. 25 November 1901: No. 47, Page 5

В воскресенье, 18 ноября, дан был оркестром и хором ор. А. Д. Шереметево второй в текущем сезоне общедоступный концерт. Капитальным нумером перваго отделения концерта, прошедшего под управлением г. Владимирова, была симфония E-dur (“Юпитер”) Моцарта, представляющая собою, особенно в четвертой своей части, удивительный шедевр контрапунктического творчества.

Во втором отделении, проишедшем под управлением гр. А. Д. Шерметева, была исполнена неоконченная оратория Мендельсона “Христос” и кантат “Landa Sion”. Сольныя партии исполняли здесь г-жи Данковская, Пржебвлецкая, гг. Кринов, Кедров и Алексеев, причем наиболее досталось работы г. Кринозу, обладателю красиваго хотя еще далеко не окончательно отшлифованного тенора. Г-жа Крайнбл не без успеха исполнила концерт Чайкоскаго.

Sunday, November 18, a public concert, second in the season, was given by the orchestra and chorus of the director A. D. Sheremetev. Principal number in the first portion of the concert held under the guidance of Vladimirov, was the Symphony in E major (“Jupiter”) by Mozart, which represents, especially in the fourth part, an amazing masterpiece of contrapuntal art.

The second part, which occurred under the director A. D. Sheremetev, was filled by Mendelssohn’s unfinished oratorio “Christ” and cantata “Landa Sion”. Solos were performed by Dankowski, Przhebvletskaia, Krinov, Kedrov and Alekseev. The most difficult of the work fell on Krinov, the owner of a beautiful though far from completely polished tenor voice. Kraĭnbl performed Chaikovsky’s concert with success.

C. *Muzykalnyĭ mir* (*Musical World*)

1. 26 February 1883: Page 5-6

Украшением восьмого симфонического собрания императорского русского музыкального общества была 9-я симфония D-moll для хора, оркестра и солистов ор. 125, Бетховена. Этот бессмертный образец душевного величия рисует жизненную борьбу и наконец грандиозными звуками слитыми с бессмертными стихами оды Шиллера К радости рисует картину примирения и любя человечества. По своей задаче и вычислению, эта симфония выше всех предшествовавших. В ней Бетховен достиг границ могущества слияния вокальной и инструментальной и музыки. Хоревая часть, всегда представляющая слабу сторону концертов русского музыкального общества, воспрянула и выступила в восьмом симфоническом собрании с неожиданным блеском. Хоры консерватории и русского музыкального общества, находящиеся под руководством гг. Черни и Зике, своею уверенностью, силой и нюансировкой положительно заставили забыть незавидное прошлое русского музыкального общества в хоровом отношении. Трудные партии солистов было прекрасно переданы г-жами Цезар, Дьяконовой, гг. Мошковичевского и Левицком, учениками С. Петербургской консерватории. Вообще исполнение 9-й симфонии произвело цельное художественное впечатление и сдавали когда-нибудь петербургская публика слышала такую передачу Бетховенского творения.

The presentation from the Imperial Russian Musical Society was the 9th Symphony in D minor, Op. 125 for choir, orchestra and soloists, Beethoven. This immortal model of mental greatness draws on the struggle of life and the grand finale sounds fused with the immortal verses of Schiller's "Ode To Joy" paints a picture of reconciliation and love of humanity. In their task of interpretation, this symphony is above all the previous. In it, Beethoven has reached the borders of power in the merger of vocal and instrumental music. The chorus, always representing the weaker side of the concerts of the Russian musical society, were applauded for their unexpectedly splendid performance of the symphony concert. The choirs of the Conservatory and the Russian Musical Society, under the leadership of Cherni and Zike, their confidence, strength, and nuances helped us to forget the undesirable past of the Russian Musical Society in respect to its chorus. The difficult parts of the soloists were perfectly executed by Mr. Tsesar, Diakonova, Moshkovichevsky and Levitsky, students of the St. Petersburg Conservatory. In general, the presentation of the 9th Symphony made the complete artistic impression and surpassed the best the Petersburg public had heard the delivery of Beethoven's creation.

2. 12 March 1883: No.11, Page 5

Второй концерте бесплатной школы, как и предшествующие ему концерты ея, отличавшиеся всегда новинками, преподнес публике два новых произведения; вторую увертюру для оркестра на греческия темы (из сборник Бургдля-Кудра) г. Глазунова и симфоническую поэму для оркестра на стихотворение Лермонтова "Тамара" г. Балакирева. Обе вещи исполнялись в первый разе. Хотя на программе

не было обозначено, что хор “Встреяа князя” из оперы г. Бородина “Князь Игор” исполнялся в первый раз, по насколько мы помним, этот хор не входил в состав программ концертов безплатной музыкальной школы в прежние годы, “Тамара” г. Балакирева представляет из себя обширное оркестровое произведение, которое некоторыми деталями положительно утомляет слушателей. Нельзя сказать чтобы музыка г. Балакирева стояла на высоте силы выражения Лермонтовской. Главный интерес поэмы г. Балакирева заключается в прекрасно третированном оркестре и в гармонических красотах. Хор г. Бородина произвел на столько приятное впечатление что был, по требованию публики, повторен. Не представляя из себе ничего особенно выдающегося, он носит на себе отпечаток народнаго духа и не лишен движения и теплоты. Нам остается упомянуть еще о симфонии d-moll Шумана, этой прелестной и богатой по вдохновению вещи и о заключительном хоре из оперы “Псковитянка” г. Римскаго-Корсакова. Хор молится над трупом, безвременно погибшей Ольги. Написанный полифонично в стиле старых мастеров запада, этот хор не лишен некоторой величавости. Хор прерывается пением царя Ивана Грознаго, погруженного в горе смертью Ольга. Красивыя музыкальныя фраз Ивана Гознаго, однако, лишены всякаго драматизма, прили чествующего такому моменту.

The second concert of the free school, as the former concerts, always featuring novelties, presented to the audience two new works; Glazunov’s second Overture for orchestra on a Greek theme (from the collection of L. Bourgault-Ducoudray), and symphonic poem for orchestra based on a poem of Lermontov’s “Tamara,” by Balakirev. Both are performed in the first half. Although the program did not indicate it, the choir performed “Meeting the Prince” from the opera of Borodin *Prince Igor*. From evidence of past concert programs, we believe that this number was performed for the first time. *Tamara* by Balakirev is a vast orchestral work that positively tires listeners. Is impossible to say that the music of Balakirev was at the height of powerful expression of Lermontov. The main interest of the poem by Balakirev is how it consists of perfect orchestral and harmonic beauty. The chorus of Borodin made such a good impression so much that it was repeated, at the request of the public. Representing from itself nothing particularly outstanding, it bears the imprint of the national spirit, not devoid of movement and warmth. We have to mention the Symphony in D minor by Schumann, this charming and rich in inspiration things as well as the final chorus from the opera *The Maid of Pskov*, by Rimsky-Korsakov. The chorus prays over the corpse, untimely deceased Olga. Written in the polyphonic style of the old masters of the West, this choir is not devoid of a certain grandeur. The chorus is interrupted by the singing of Ivan the Terrible, immersed in grief the death of Olga. Beautiful musical phrases of Ivan Goznago, however, are devoid of all drama befitting such a moment.

D. *Muzyka i teatr* (*Music and Theater*)

1. 16 March 1867: No.1, Page 13

6-го Марта был второй ежегодный концерт безплатной музыкальной школы Г. Я. Ломакина. С музыкальной стороны этот концерт был до того не замечателен, что но неволе спрашиваем себя: в чем же прославленная деятельность никакого отличия от других концертов с участием хоров? Или только в особенно плохом выбор хоровых пьес программы (кроме прелестного, но уже знакомого хора А. С. Даргомыжского) состоит это отличие? Стоило ли целый год готовит плохих пьес? Приверженцы Г. Я. Ломакина будут извинять его на этот раз тою случайностью, что программа концерта за три дня до исполнения подверглась значительной перемене, вследствие заявления г. Стелловского против двух из 8 предназначенных нумеров. Но это будет несправедливо. Какие №. №. приостановлены г. Стелловским? 1) Одна пьеса оркестровая: Восточные танцы из 4 акта Руслана, переложенные г. Балакиревым с двух оркестров на один; 2) один хор: интродукция из оперы, одна, и то известная публике и пере известная. Что касается до "Восточных танцев" то, предоставляя себе возвратиться к поступку г. Стелловского когда это дело более разъяснится в печатных органах - скажем здесь, что гениальная музыка Глинки, конечно, не может выиграть в эффекте, если исполнительские средства будут уменьшены против назначенных в оригинальное партитуре. Если автор выразил свою мысль дуэтом, диалогом двух оркестров: военного на сцене и обыкновенного оперного, те всякое приведение этой сложности к простейшему виду, превращение диалога в монолог, хотя бы сделанное с полным уважением к оригинальной мысли к с полным знанием оркестрового дела, может быть допущено только как практическая необходимость (как например для исполнения на миниатюрной пражской сцене) но ни как не выставляться на показ, как новое и капитальное приобретение для петербургской публики! Серов

6th March was the second annual concert of Gavriil Lomakin's Free Music School. On the musical side, this concert was so not wonderful, but let us ask ourselves, in what way is a celebrated performance different from concerts with other choirs? Rather is it just in a particularly poor choice of choral pieces of the program (other than the pretty, but the familiar chorus Dargomyzhsky)? Was it worth a whole year preparing the bad pieces? Followers of Lomakin will excuse him this time because of the incident, that the program of the concert has undergone considerable change three days before the execution as a result of the statements by Starovsky opposing two of the eight designated numbers. But that would be unfair. What numbers were suspended by Stellovsky? 1) One orchestral piece, the Oriental dances from Act 4 of Ruslan, which Balakirev had transcribed from two bands into one; 2) A chorus: the introduction of the opera, one which is well known to the public. With regard to the "Oriental dance," defense is given to the actions of Starovsky as this case is cleared up more in print media - let us say here that the brilliant music of Glinka, of course, cannot be heard in full effect when performing forces are reduced from the requirements of the original score. If the author has expressed his thoughts in a duet, such as a dialogue between the two orchestras: the

military on stage and of an ordinary opera, variation may be allowed only as a practical necessity (like for execution on a miniature Prague scene) but as not put on show like new and capital gain for the St. Petersburg audience! This should be done modifying complexities to the simplest form such as turning dialogue into a monologue as long as it is done with full respect to the original thought and full understanding of orchestral production. Serov

E. *Izvestiia S. Peterburgskago obchestva muzykalnykh sobranyĭ* (*Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Musical Gatherings*)

1. 1896: No. 9, Page 4

Получив вышеизложенныя полномочия, Совет Общества немедленно приступил к составлению хора и вошел в переговоры с фирмою В.-Бессел и К о приобретении необходимых хоровых и оркестровых партий, а равно клавираусцугов оп. Псковитянка. Вместе с тем Совет озаботился приисканием подходящего помещения для частных собраний и спевок хора. В виду крайней ограниченности средств Общества, вопрос этот представлял большие затруднения и мог быть разрешен лишь благодаря особой любезности г. Директора С.-Петербургской Консерватории, почетного члена Общества Ю. И. Иогансена г. Директора С.-Петербургской музыкальной Школы, действительного члена Общества И. А. Боровка представителя депо роялей Германа и Гроссмана, члена Совета Э. Я. Длусского и администрации Малаго театра, предоставивших Обществу возможность собираться в находящихся в их распоряжении помещениях.

Having received the foregoing authority, the Society Board immediately began formulating choir and entered into negotiations with the firm V. Bessel and about acquiring the necessary choral and orchestral resources, as well as pianos for the opera *The Maid of Pskov*. However, the Council attended to finding suitable premises for private meetings and choir rehearsals. In view of the very limited funds of the Society, this question has presented great difficulties which can be permitted only by special courtesy of these patrons: the Director of the St. Petersburg Conservatory, an honorary member of the Society, Y. I. Iogansen, Director of the St. Petersburg Music School, member of the Society, I. A. Borovka, the representative to the piano storehouse, Herman Grossman, board member E. J. Dlussky, and the administration of the Small theatre, providing the public a chance to gather in the premises at their disposal.

2. 1896: Page 6-7

Частных собраний в текущем сезон было два; они происходили в помещении С.-Петербургской Музыкальной Школы. Первое состоялось 13 декабря 1894 г., при участии хора Общества, гг. Боровка и Гильдебрандта, а также сказительницы былин Ирины Федоровой (из Олонепкой губернии). Исполнены

были: 1) соната А. Рубинштейна для фортепиано и алта, 2) три хора из Псковитянки и 3) несколько старинных народный песен и былин. - Второе частное собрание состоялось 23 февраля 1895 г., и было посвящено сообщению почетного члена Общества Ц. А. Кюи; очерк развития русскаго романса.

Private assemblies in the current season, there were two; they took place in the premises of St. Petersburg School of Music. The first took place on 13 December 1894, with the participation of the choir of the Company, Borovka and Hildebrandt and storyteller of epics Irina Fedorova (of the Olonepkoĭ province). The program included: 1) A. Rubinstein Sonata for Piano and Viola, 2) three choruses from *The Maid of Pskov*, and 3) some old folk songs and epics. A second private meeting held on February 23, 1895 was devoted to the post of honorary member of the Society for C.A. Cui; author of *Russian Romance: A Sketch of its Development.*

3. 1896: Page 12

Доклад Совета. Милостивыя Государыни и Милостивые Государи. Весенним и осенним Общими очередными Собраниями постановлено было утвердить предложение Совета о постановке оперы Борис Годунов Мусоргскаго, в переработке Николая Андреевича Римскаго-Корсакова. Соответственно этому уже весною были приобретены необходимые партии хоровые и оркестровые, а также клавираусцуг, и приступлено к разучиванию оперы с хором. Хоровыми спевками руководили частью почетный член Общества Н. А. Римский- Корсаков, частью Председатель Общества А. А. Давидов и Товарищ Председателя М. А. Гольденблюм. Затем особенныя заботы были приложены Советом к приисканию зала для представления оперы. Хотя, в виду ограниченности средств, которыми располагало Общества, вопрос этот и представил значительныя затруднения, он был разрешен, благодаря содействию дирекции Русскаго музыкального Общесства, которая предоставила нашему Обществу большой зал Консерватории за относительно умеренную плату.

The Report of the Council. Gracious ladies and gentlemen. During the annual general meeting it was decided to approve the proposal of the society to perform the opera *Boris Godunov* by Mussorgsky, with the refinement of Nikolai A. Rimsky-Korsakov. Accordingly, in the next spring we will purchase much needed elements for the chorus and orchestra, as well as for the keyboardists, and begin to train the opera chorus. Choir rehearsals will be led by the honorary member of the society N. Rimsky-Korsakov, also acting as a chairman of the society with A. A. Davydov and Comrade Chairman M. A. Gelderblom. A special task has been allocated to the council towards finding a hall for performances of the opera. Although, in view of the limited funds at the disposal of the society, this duty presented considerable difficulty. It was resolved with the assistance of the Directorate of the Russian Musical Society, which provided our society the Great Hall of the Conservatory for a relatively modest fee.

Appendix B: Song titles from *Piesennik Rossiiskago Voina: 1721-1921* (*The Russian Warrior's Songbook, 1721-1921*)

"Житейское море Ирмосъ гласъ 6ый" ("The Voice of the Sea of Irmos is Alive")

"Въ церкви Хоралъ. Музыка ТТ И Чайковскаго" ("The Church Chorale." Music by Chaikovsky)

"Гимнъ Всевеликого Войска Донского." Слова Ф И Анисимова ("Hymn of the Great Donetsk Army." Words by F. I. Anisimov)

"Пъснь Терского Казачьего Войска" ("Song of the Tersk Cossack Army")

"Донской гимнъ временъ Гражданской войны" ("Donsk Anthem During the Civil War")

"Ой ты поле дикое." Былина ("Oh You, Untamed Field." Bylina)

"Спите орлы боевые." Слова К Оленина музыка И Корнилова ("Sleep Fighting Eagles." Words by Olenin and music by Kornilov)

"Громъ побъды раздавайся. Слова Г Р Державина музыка I А Козловскаго" ("Thunder of Victory Rang Out." Words by G R Derzhavin and music by I. A. Kozlovsky)

"Въ степи широкой" ("Unto the Wide Steppe")

"Полно вамъ снъжочки" ("Come on, *Snezhochki*")[3]

"Подъ ракитою зеленой" ("Beneath the Green Willow Tree")

"Ревутъ отогнуть гор хвил" ("Roaring of the Khvil Mountains")

"Мы смъло въ бой пойдемъ" ("We Boldly Go into Battle")

"Родимый край" ("Motherland")

"Дальневосточная" ("Far East")

"Славься славься нашъ Руссшй Царь." Сл Барона Розена Е в муз М И Глинки ("Glory, Glory to our Russian Tsar." Words by Baron Rosen and music by Mikahil Glinka)

"Пъсня 5аго Гусарскаго Александровскаго полка" ("Song of the 5th Hussar Alexandria Regiment")

"Пъсня 12аго Драгунскаго Стародубовскаго полка" ("Song of the 12th Starodubsky Dragoon Regiment")

"Пъсня 12аго Уланскаго Бългородскаго полка Слова ген Чекотовскаго" ("Song of the 12th Belgorod Uhlan regiment." Words by General Chekotovsky)

[3] Snezhochki is a Caucausian Cossack's Dance

“Пъсня 10аго Уланскаго Одесскаго полка” (“Song of the 10th Ulanska Odessa Regiment”)

“Пъсня 12ой Кавалершской дивизш” (“Song 12th Cavalry Division”)

“Гибель Стерегущаго” (“Death of Steregushchy”)[4]

“Гибель Варяга” (“Death of the Varyag”)[5]

“Кто свою отчизну любитъ.” Музыка А. А. Архангельскаго (“Those Who Love Their Homeland.” Music by A. A. Arkhangelsky)

“Ура Туркестанцы” (“Cheers to the Turkestanis”)

“Сигнальный маршъ.” Музыка А. Колотилина (“Signal March.” Music by A. Kolotilin)

“Эй Донцымолодцы” (“Hey Don Cossacks, Well Done”)

“Эй веселитеся донцы” (“Hey Merry Don People”)

“Славимъ Платова героя” (“Glory to the Hero Platov”)

“Поъхалъ казакъ на чужбину далеко” (“Cossack Went to a Far Away Foreign Land”)

“Маршъ нового поколъюя.” Слова и музыка П. Н. Зеленскаго (“March of the New Generation.” Words and music P. N. Zelinsky)

“Маршируютъ полки Слова С Войно Панченко.” музыка С. В. Маркова (“Marching Regiments from the Panchenko War.” Music by S. V. Markov)

“Что за пъсни” (“What Kind of Songs”)

“Еще солнце не всходило” (“The Sun has Risen”)

“Пограничная” (“Borderguard”)

“На сопкахъ Маньчжурш.” Слова и музыка И А Шатрова (“On the Hills of Manchu.” Words and music by I. A. Shatrova)

“Умеръ бъдняга.” Слова К. Р. (“He Died a Poor Man.” Words by K. R.)

“Что задумался мой милый” (“What Do You Think My Dear”)

“Пъсни гусарсшя” (“Song of the Hussar”)

“Пойдули выйдуль я да.” Записано by А. Т. Гречаниновымъ (“You Go and Return to Me.” Written by A. T. Grechaninov)

“Маршъ Российской Освободительной Армш.” Слова А. Флорова муз М. Давыдова (“The March of the Russian Liberation of Arms.” Words by A. Florov and music by M. Davydov)

[4] *Stereguschago* is the name of Russian battleship destroyer.
[5] The *varyag* was a naval cruiser of the Imperial Russian Navy.

Appendix C: Song Texts and Translations

Очи чёрные:

Припев: Очи чёрные, очи страстные,
Очи жгучие и прекрасные,
Как люблю я вас, как боюсь я вас,
Знать увидел вас я не в добрый час.

Ох, недаром вы глубины темней!
Вижу траур в вас по душе моей,
Вижу пламя в вас я победное:
Сожжено на нем сердце бедное.

Но не грустен я, не печален я,
Утешительна мне судьба моя:
Все, что лучшего в жизни Бог дал нам,
В Жертву отдал я огневым глазам!

Dark Eyes:

Chorus: Oh, your dark black eyes, eyes so passionate,
Eyes that burn through me, eyes so beautiful.
How I love you so, and I fear you so
When I saw you first, was my fatal hour!

Oh, you're darker than the sea's darkest depths!
Within them I see my dear soul's demise.
In them I can see the flame of defeat,
It's been burned into my poor suffering heart.

But I am not sad, and I feel no grief,
I draw comfort from my own destiny:
Everything fine in life that God gave to us,
I have sacrificed to your fiery eyes.

Тёмная ночь:

Тёмная ночь, только пули свистят по степи,
Только ветер гудит в проводах, тускло звёзды мерцают...
В тёмную ночь ты, любимая, знаю, не спишь,
И у детской кроватки тайком ты слезу утираешь.

Как я люблю глубину твоих ласковых глаз,
Как я хочу к ним прижаться хоть раз губами!
Тёмная ночь разделяет, любимая, нас,
И тревожная, чёрная степь пролегла между нами.

Верю в тебя, в дорогую подругу мою.
Эта вера от пули меня тёмной ночью хранила...
Радостно мне, я спокоен в смертельном бою:
Знаю, встретишь с любовью меня, что б со мной ни случилось.

Смерть не страшна, с ней встречались не раз мы в степи...
Вот и теперь надо мною она кружится,
Ты меня ждёшь и у детской кроватки не спишь,
И поэтому знаю, со мной ничего не случится!

Dark Night:

Dark night, only bullets are whistling in the steppe,
Only the wind is wailing through the telephone wires, stars are faintly flickering...
In the dark night, my love, I know you are not sleeping,
And, near a child’s crib, you secretly wipe away a tear.

How I love the depths of your gentle eyes,
How I long to press my lips to them!
This dark night separates us, my love,
And the dark, troubled steppe has come to lie between us.

I have faith in you, in you, my sweetheart.
That faith has shielded me from bullets in this dark night...
I am glad, I am calm in deadly battle:
I know you will meet me with love, no matter what happens.

Death is not terrible, we’ve met with it more than once in the steppe...
And here it looms over me once again,
You await my return, sitting sleepless near a cradle,
And so I know that nothing will happen to me!

Appendix D: Journal Names with Dates and Location of Print

Russian Name	**English Name**	**Location**	**Dates**
Apollon	*Apollo*	St. Petersburg	1909-1914
Bayan	*Accordian*	St. Petersburg	1888-1890
Birzhevie vedomosti	*Stock Exchange Bulletin*	St. Petersburg	1880-1916
Edition Russe de musique	*Russian Music Edition*	Berlin	1909-1947
Golos	*Voice*	Paris	1863-1883
Golos Moskviĭ	*Voice of Moscow*	Moscow	1909-1911
Grazhdanin	*Citizen*	St. Petersburg	1910-1911
Illustrirovannaia gazeta	*Illustrated Gazette*	St. Petersburg	_____
Iskusstvo i khudozhestvennaia promyshlennost	*Art and the Art Industry*	_____	_____
Izvestiia S-Peterburgskogo obshchestva muzykalnykh sobraniĭ	*Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Society of Music Collections*	St. Petersburg	1899-1917
Journal de St. Petersbourg	*Journal of St. Petersburg*	Paris	1825-1914
K novym beregam	*Toward New Shores*	_____	_____
Khorovoe i regentskoe delo	*Choral and Precentor Affairs*	St. Petersburg	_____
Krasnaia gazeta	*Red Gazette*	Petrograd	1918-1939
L'Abeille musicale	*Musical Bee*	Paris	1845
Le Nouvelliste	*Reporter*	St. Petersburg	1840
Melos	*Melos*	Petrograd	_____
Moskovskie vedomosti	*Moscow Bulletin*	Moscow	1890-1900
Moskovskiĭ nabludatel	*Moscow Observer*	Moscow	1835-1839
Muzyka	*Music*	Moscow	1910-1916
Muzyka i zhizn'	*Music and Life*	_____	1908-1919
Muzyka, teatr i iskusstvo	*Music, Theatre and Art*	_____	_____
Muzykalnaia starina	*Music of Antiquity*	St. Petersburg	1903-1911
Muzykalnoe obozrenie	*Musical Review*	St. Petersburg	1885–1888
Muzykalno-teatralnyĭ sovremennik	*Contemporary Musical*	_____	_____

	Theater		
Muzykalnye feletony i zamietki	*Musical Notes and Satires*	_____	_____
Muzykalnyĭ listok	*Musical Leaflet*	St. Petersburg	1872-1877
Muzykalnyĭ mir	*Musical World*	_____	_____
Muzykalnyĭ sezon	*Musical Season*	_____	1869-1871
Muzykalnyĭ sovremennik	*Musical Contemporary*	St. Petersburg	1915-1917
Muzykalnyĭ svet	*Musical Light*	_____	1845-1878
Muzykalnyĭ truzhenik	*Music Laborer*	Moscow	1906-1910
Muzykalnyĭ vremia	*Music Era*	_____	_____
Nash vek	*Our Century*	_____	1918
Nedelia	*Weekly*	_____	_____
Notnoe delo	*Notational Matters*	_____	_____
Novoe vremya	*New Era*	_____	1868-1917
Novosti dnia	*News of the Day*	Moscow	1888-
Novosti sezona	*News Season*	_____	_____
Nuvellist. Muzykalnyĭ zhurnal dlia fortepiano	*News: Musical Journal for Piano*	_____	1842-1906
Nuvellist: Muzykalno-teatralnaia gazeta	*News: Musical and Theaterical Gazette*	St. Petersburg	1878–1905
Orkestr	*Orchestra*	Moscow	1910-1912
Otechestvennyie zapiski	*Notes of the Fatherland*	St. Petersburg	1818-1884
Peterburgskaia gazeta	*Petersburg Gazette*	St. Petersburg	_____
Peterburgskiĭ listok	*Petersburg Leaflet*	St. Petersburg	1861-1882
Petersburgskaia zhizn'	*St. Petersburg Life*	_____	_____
Rech'	*Speech*	St. Petersburg	1906-1917
Russkaia muzykalnaia gazeta	*Russian Musical Gazette*	St. Petersburg	1894-1918
Russkiĭ vedomosti	*Russian Bulletin*	Moscow	_____
Russkiĭ invalid	*The Russian Invalid*	St. Petersburg	1813-1917
Russkiĭ listok	*Russian Leaflet*	Moscow	1875-1895
Russkiĭ vestnik	*Russian Herald*	_____	_____

Russkoye slovo	*Russian Word*	_____	_____
Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti	*St. Petersburg Bulletin*	St. Petersburg	1703-1917
Severnaia ptchela	*Northern Bee*	St. Petersburg	1825-1864
Severnye zapiski	*Northern Notes*	St. Petersburg	1913-1916
Severnyi vestnik	*Northern Herald*	_____	_____
Slovo	*Word*	_____	_____
Sovremennaia letopis	*Contemporary Chronicle*	Moscow	_____
Sovremennaia muzyka	*Contemporary Music*	_____	1924-1929
Sovremennik	*Contemporary*	St. Petersburg	1836-1866
Sovremennoe slovo	*Contemporary Word*	St. Petersburg	1907-1918
Sovremennyĭ izvestia	*Contemporary News*	_____	_____
Svet	*Light*	_____	_____
Tealtralnyĭ i muzykalnyĭ vestnik	*Theatrical and Musical Herald*	St. Petersburg	1856-1860
Teatr i iskusstvo	*Theater and Art*	St. Petersburg	1897-1918
Teatr i zhizn	*Theater and Life*	_____	_____
Teatr izvestia	*Theater News*	_____	_____
Teatral	*Theater-Goer*	_____	_____
Teleskop	*Telescope*	_____	1831-1836
Utro Rossiĭ	*Russia Morning*	Moscow	1907
Vestnik Evropy	*European Herald*	_____	_____
Vesy	*Scales*	Moscow	1904-1909
Voskresnyĭ listok muzyki i obiavienia	*Sunday Sheet Music and Announcements*	_____	_____
Zhizn' iskusstva	*Life of Art*	Petrograd	1918-1924
Zolotoe runo	*Golden Fleece*	Moscow	1905-1910

Appendix E: List of Choral Works by Composer

Anton Arensky (1861-1906)	
Date:	**Title:**
1882	*Lesnoĭ tsar* (*The Wood King*). Cantata on text by J.W. von Goethe, translation by Zhukovsky for 1 voice, chorus, and orchestra.
1884	*Gimn iskusstvu* (*Hymn to Art*). Text by Ostrovsky, after F. von Schiller for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra.
1884	*Anchar*. Text by A.S. Pushkin for mixed voices.
1891	*Kantata na 10-letie koronovaniia* (*Cantata on the 10th Anniversary of the Coronation*) Text by Kryukov for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra.
1891	Two Choruses, for male voices: "Molitva" ("Prayer"); "Noch'" ("Night")
1891	Three choruses: "Kolybelnaia pesnia" ("Lullaby"); "Zhemchug i lyubov'" ("The Pearl and Love"); "Serenada" ("Serenade")
1891	Four Sacred Choruses, from the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom: "Kheruvimskaia pesnia" ("Cherubim's Song"); "Khvalite Gospoda" ("Praise the Lord"); "Tebe poëm" ("We Sing to Thee"); "Otche nash" ("Our Father")
1899	*Bakhchisaraĭskiĭ fontan* (*The Fountain of Bakhchisaray*). Cantata after Pushkin for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra.
1899	Two Quartets, SATB: "Ustalo vsë krugom" ("All Around has Grown Weary"); "Oni liubili drug druga" ("They Loved Each Other")
1899	Three Quartets: "Serenada" ("Serenade"); "Ugasshim zvezdam" ("To the Dying Stars"); "Goriachiĭ kliuch" ("The Hot Spring"). For voice and accompaniment.
1899	*Kubok* (*The Goblet*). Cantata on text by Zhukovsky for 1 voice, chorus, and orchestra.
1899	*Tsvetnik* (*The Bed of Flowers*). 8 pieces for 1voice, female voices, and pianoforte.
1905	*The Tempest*. Incidental music on text by W. Shakespeare) for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra.

Mily Balakirev (1837-1910)	
Date:	**Title:**
c. 1860-1870	"Zhëltyĭ list drozhit" ("The Yellow Leaf Trembles"). Text by M. Lermontov for 3 voices and chorus.
1883	"Khristos voskrese" ("Christ is Risen"). Biblical text for female or children's voices.
1888	6 anthems. For mixed chorus. "Kheruvimskaia pesn" ("Song of the Cherubim"); "Da molchit vsyakaia plot" ("All Flesh is Silent"); "Dostoĭno" ("He is Worthy"); "Svyshe prorotsy" ("Over the Prophets"); "Da vozraduetsia dusha tvoia" ("Thy Soul is Renewed"); "So sviatymi upokoĭ" ("Rest with the Holy Ones")
1889	"Gimn v chest v.k. Georgiya Vsevolodovicha" ("Hymn in Honour of the Grand Duke Georgy Vsevolodovich"). Text by V. Likhachov for mixed chorus.

1891	"Umchalos vremia zolotoe: proshchalnaia pesn vypusknykh vospitannits Polotskogo zhenskogo uchilishcha dukhovnogo vedomstva" ("The Golden Time has Flown Away, Graduation Song of the Pupils of the Polotsky Ecclesiastical Girls' College"). Text by A. Yasherova for 4 female voices.
1898	"Gimn v chest avgusteĭsheĭ pokrovitelnitsy Polotskogo zhenskogo uchilishcha, imperatritsy Marii Fëdorovny" ("Hymn in Honor of the Most Respected Patroness of Polotsky Girls' College, the Empress Maria Fëdorovna"). Text by A. Yasherova for 4 female voices and pianoforte.
1899	"Pod seniu shchedroĭ blagostyni: gimn dlya zhenskogo khora" ("Beneath the Shadow of Thy Overflowing Mercy: Hymn for Women's Chorus"). Text by Likhachov for female voices.
1899	Molitva russkikh, Gimn russkomu tsariu: gimn dlya zhenskogo khora
1900	*Pubd as Dukhovno-muzykalnye perelozheniia i sochineniia M. Balakireva* (Sacred Music Arrangements and Compositions by M. Balakirev)
1902	"Gimn Khvala vsederzhiteliu bogu" ("Hymn Praise to Almighty God"). Text by M. Samochernova for 4 female voices.
1902	"Tebe my gimn poem, o shkola dorogaia: shkolnyĭ gimn dlia zhenskogo ili detskogo khora" ("The Prayer of the Russians, Hymn to the Russian Tsar"). Text by A. Pushkin for female voices.
1902-1904	*Kantata na otkrytie pamiatnika M.I. Glinke v Peterburge* (*Cantata for the unveiling of the memorial to M.I. Glinka in St. Petersburg*). Text by V. Glebov for soprano, chorus, and orchestra.
1908	"Proschchaĭ navsegda, nash priiut nezabvennïy: 2-ya proshchalnaia pesn vospitannits Polotskogo zhenskogo uchilishcha dukhovnogo vedomstva" ("Farewell Forever, Our Unforgettable Haven: Second Leaving Song of the Pupils of the Polotsky Ecclesiastical Girls' College"). Text by N. Zabelina-Bekarevich for 3 female voices.
1912	"Angel vopiyashe (valaamskogo rospeva)" ("The Angel Cried Out (Valaam Chant)").
1912	"Ust tvoikh (Tropar Ioannu Zlatoustu, valaamskogo rospeva)" **("**From Thy Lips (Troparion to St. John Chrysostom, Valaam chant)"). For SATB.

Alexander Borodin (1833-1887)	
Date:	**Title:**
1870	"Serenada chetyrekh kavalerov ednoĭ dame" ("Serenade of Four Cavaliers to One Lady"). Text by Borodin for 4 male voices and pianoforte.
1878	"Vpered, druzia" ("Forward, Friends") Text by Borodin for 4 male voices.
1881	"Na zabytom pole bitvy" ("On a Forgotten Field of Battle") Text by Borodin for 4 male voices.
1885	"Slava Kirillu! Slava Mefodiyu!" ("Glory to Kirill! Glory to Methodius!"). Anonymous text for 4 male voices.
1893	"Pesnia tyomnogo lesa" ("Song of the Dark Forest"). Text by Borodin arranged for male chorus, pianoforte and orchestrated by Glazunov.

Cesar Cui (1835-1918)	
Date:	**Title:**
1860	Two Choruses. For mixed voices and orchestra, Op. 4.
1871	"Misticheskiĭ khor" ("Mystical Chorus"). For female voices, pianoforte or orchestra, Op. 6.
1885	Seven Choruses. For mixed voices, Op. 28.
1886	"Ave Maria." For 1 or 2 voices, female voices and pianoforte or harmonium, Op. 34.
1887	"Les oiseaux d'Argenteau." For children's voices.
1893	Five Choruses. For mixed voices, Op. 46.
1899	[Seven] Little Duet-Choruses. For female or children's voices, Op. 101.
1901	Zwei Lieder. For male voices, Op. 58.
1903	Six Choruses. For mixed voices, Op. 68.
1908	Seven Choruses (Belousov), Op. 77.
1910	Three Psalms. For mixed voices, Op. 88.
1911	Thirteen Choruses. For female and children's voices and pianoforte, Op. 85.
1912	"Marsh russkikh sokolov" ("March of the Russian Falcons"). For mixed voices, and pianoforte.
1913	*Cantata for the 300th Anniversary of the Romanov Dynasty*. For mixed voices and orchestra, Op. 89.
1914	"Pesn presviatyia bogoroditsy" ("Song of the Most Holy Theotokos, i.e. Magnificat"). For soprano and mixed voices, Op. 98.
1914	*Tvoĭ stikh* (*Your Poetic Art*). Cantata in memory of Lermontov for mixed voices and orchestra, Op. 96.
1914	"Idut" ("They're Marching"). For male voices.

Alexander Glazunov (1865-1936)	
Date:	**Title:**
1896	*Koronatsionnaia Kantata* (*Coronation Cantata*), Op.56. For 4 solo voices, chorus, and orchestra.
1898	*Festive Cantata for the 100th Anniversary of the Pavlovsk Institute*, Op.63.
1899	*Cantata in Memory of Pushkin's 100th Birthday*, Op.65.
1899	*Hymn to Pushkin*, Op.66. For female voices and pianoforte ad lib.
1903	"Zdravitsa" ("Toast")
1904	Cantata for Tenor, chorus and orch. 9 (with Lyadov)
1905	"Ėy ukhnem" ("Song of the Volga Boatmen"). For chorus and orchestra.
1907	"Lyubov" ("Love"), Op.94.
1912	*Preliudiia-kantata k 50–letiiu Peterburgskogo konservatoriia* (*Prelude-Cantata for the 50th Anniversary of the St. Petersburg Conservatory*)

Alexander Grechaninov (1864-1956)	
Date:	**Title:**
1892	4 choruses, Op. 4. For mixed voices.
1895	2 choruses, Op. 10. For female voices. North and South
1895	2 choruses, Op. 11. For mixed voices.
1897	2 Tableaux, Op. 12. For mixed voices.
1897	Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Op. 13. For soprano, tenor, strings, harp, and organ.
1898	2 melodies, Op. 16. For mixed voices.
1898	2 Sacred Choruses, Op. 19. For mixed voices.
1901	Hear, O Lord, My Prayer, Op. 26. For mixed voices.
1902	Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Op. 29. For soprano, tenor, strings, harp, and organ.
1904	2 Sacred Choruses. For mixed voices.
1905	To the Memory of the Fallen for Freedom. A funeral march for mixed voices.
1905	2 Fables of Kryloff. For male voices.
1908	2 Sacred Choruses. For mixed voices.
1909	2 Sacred Choruses, Op. 24. For mixed voices.
1911	Passions, Op. 58. For mixed voices.
1912	Vespers, Op. 59. For mixed voices.
1913	2 Sacred Choruses, Op. 71. For mixed voices.
1917-1926	Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Op. 79. For soprano, tenor, strings, harp, and organ.
1943	Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Op. 177. For chorus.

Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov (1859-1935)	
Date:	**Title:**
1895	*Welcoming Cantata for the Coronation of Nicholas II*, Op. 12. For two-part children's choir and orchestra.
1896	Alsatian Ballade, Op. 15a. For mixed voices (or women).
1896	Ten two-part choruses, Op. 16. For female voices and piano.
1896	Five four-part choruses, Op. 17. For mixed voices.
1897	Five Characteristic Pictures, Op. 18. For choir and orchestra.
1898	Legend of the White Swan of Novgorod, Op. 24. For mixed voices.
1899	*Cantata in Memory of Pushkin*, Op. 26. For children's choir with piano (or harmonium).
1899	Two evening meal verses (Psalm 132 and Psalm 133), Op. 29. For mixed voices.
1901	Five Choruses, Op. 32. For three-part children's or women's choir and piano, unpublished.
1902	*Cantata in Memory of Vasily Zhukovsky* (after Weinberg), Op. 35. For mixed voices and piano.
1903	Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Op. 37. For mixed voices.
1903	Five Cherubic Hymns, Op. 38. For female voices.

1904	"Pythagorean Hymn to the Rising Sun, (after Amfiteatrov)," Op. 39. For mixed voices, ten flutes, two harps, and organ.
1909	Selected prayers from the All-Night Vigil (Vespers), Op. 43a. For mixed voices.
1910	*Cantata for the 100th anniversary of Gogol*, Op. 47. For two-part children's chorus with piano.
1910	Kontakion for the Holy Apostle Matthew, Op. 49. For cantor and mixed voices.
1910	Fifteen children's choruses (after Nekrasov), Op. 51.
1925	Troparion to Celebrate the Phenomenon of the Icons of the Mother of God in the city of Kazan, Op. 54a. For mixed voices and piano.
1927	Hymn to Work, Op. 59. For two-part children's chorus, concert band, and orchestra.
1931	Three Vocal Quartets for male chorus and piano (after Rodionov), Op. 75.

Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908)	
Date:	**Title:**
1874	2 choruses, Op. 13: "Tuchki nebesnye" ("Clouds in the Sky"); "Nochevala tuchka zolotaia" ("The Golden Cloud had Slept"). Text by M. Lermontov for 3 female voices.
1875	3-part acapella chorus for female
1875	4 variations and fughetta on Russian folk song, Op. 14: "Nadoeli nochi" ("I am Tired of the Nights"). On folk text for 4 female voices with pianoforte or harmonium ad lib.
1875-1876	6 acapella choruses, Op. 16:
1875	"Na severe dikom" ("In the Wild North"). Text by Lermontov for SATB.
1875	"Vakhicheskaia pesn" ("Bacchic Song"). Text by A. Pushkin for TTBB.
1876	"Staraia pesnia: Iz lesov dremuchikh severnykh" ("Ancient Song: From the Dense Northern Forests"). Text by A. Koltsov for SATB.
1876	"Mesyas plyvyet i tikh i spokoen" ("The Moon Floats Quietly and Peacefully"). Text by Lermontov for SATB.
1876	"Posleniaia tucha rasseiannoĭ buri" ("The Last Cloud of the Scattered Storm"). Text by Pushkin for SSAA.
1875	"Moltiva: Vladyka dneĭ moikh" ("Prayer: Rule by Days"). Text by Pushkin for SATB.
1876-80	Folk song collection
1876	2 choruses, Op. 18: "Pred raspiatiem (fuga v miksolidiĭskom lade)" ("Before the Cross (fugue in the Mixolydian mode)"). Text by Kol′tsov for SATB; "Tatarskiĭ polon (variatsii na russkuyu temu v miksolidiyskom lade)" ("The Tatar captivity (variations on a Russian theme in the Mixolydian mode)"). On folk text for SATB.
1877	Alexeĭ-the Man of God (folk song arr. Chorus and orchestra)
1879	15 Russian Folksongs, Op. 19. For mixed voices.
	Iz-za lesu, lesu tëmnogo (svadebnaia)" ("From the Forest, the Dark Forest (Wedding Song)")
	"Kak pri vechere (svadebnaia)" ("As at Evening (Wedding Song)")
	"A i gusto na bereze listia (troitskaia)" ("The Leaves are Thick on the Birch Tree (Trinity Song)")
	"Zelena grusha vo sadu (svadebnaia)" ("The Green Pear Tree in the Garden (Wedding Song)")

	“Kak za rekhoiu” (velichalnaia) (“As Across the River” (Ceremonial))
	“Vo luzkakh” (khorovodnaia) (“In the Meadows” (Khorovod Song))
	“Chto vilis-to moi rusy kudri (protiazhnaia)” (“When my Auburn Locks were Curly (protiazhnaia, or protracted lyrical song)”)
	“Poduĭ, poduĭ nepogodushka (protiazhnaia)” (“Blow, Storms, Blow”)
	“Akh, talan-li moĭ (protyazhnaia)” (“Oh, My Good Fortune”)
	“Ty vzoĭdi solntse krasnoe (razboinichia)” (“Rise, Red Sun” (Robber’s Song))
	“Vzoĭdi ty solntse, ni nizko, vysoko (khorovodnaia)” (“Rise, O Sun, Now Low but High” (Khorovod Song))
	“Aĭ, vo pole lipenka (troitskaia khorovodnaia)” (“In the Field there is a Lime-Tree” (Trinity Khorovod Song))
	“Zapletisia platen (vesennyaya khorovodnaia)” (“Plait the Wattle Fencing” (Spring Khorovod Song))
	“Posmotrite-ka dobrye liudi (khorovodnaia)” (“Just See, Good People” (Khorovod Song))
	“So viunom ia khozhu (khorovodnaia)” (“Carrying Bindweed I Walk” (Khorovod Song))
1890	“Slava” (“Glory”), Op. 21. For SATB and orchestra.
1883	“Tebe Boga khvalim” (“We Praise Thee, O God”). For SATB.
1883	8 nomerov iz ‘Liturgii Sv. Ioanna Zlatousta’ (8 numbers from the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom). For SATB
	“Kheruvimskaia” (“Song of the Cherubim”)
	“Kheruvimskaia” (“Song of the Cherubim”)
	“Veruiu” (“I Believe”)
	“Milost mira” (“Mercy of Peace”)
	“Tebe poëm” (“We Praise Thee”)
	“Dostoĭno est’” (“It is Truly Meet”)
	“Otche nash” (“Our Father”)
	“Voskresnyĭ prichastnyĭ stikh: Khvalite Gospoda s nebes” (“Sunday Communion Hymn: Praise the Lord from the Heavens”)
1884	2 Choruses: “Repka” (“Little Turnip”); “Kotik” (“Little Tom-Cat”)
1883-1884	Sobranie dukhovno-muzykalnykh sochineniĭ i perelozhenii (Collection of Sacred Works and Arrangements). For SATB.
	“Kto est seĭ Tsar′ slavy?” (“Who is the King of Glory?”)
	“Krestu tvoemu” (“Before Thy Cross”)
	“Kheruvimskaia pesn no.4” (“Song of the Cherubim no.4”)
	“Kheruvimskaia pesn no.5” (“Song of the Cherubim no.5”)
	“Kheruvimskaia pesn no.6” (“Song of the Cherubim no.6”)
	“Tebe poëm no.2” (“We praise Thee no.2”)
	“Tebe poëm no.3” (“We praise Thee no.3”)
	“Tebe poëm no.4” (“We praise Thee no.4”)
	“Tebe poëm no.5” (“We praise Thee no.5”)
	“Tebe poëm no.6” (“We praise Thee no.6”)
	“Dostoĭno est no. 2” (“It is Truly Meet no.2”)
	“Khvalite Gospoda s nebes” (“Praise the Lord from the Heavens”). For SSAATTBB.
	“Khvalite Gospoda s nebes no.1” (Prichastnyĭ stikh no.1 v voskresene) (“Praise the Lord from the Heavens no.1” (Sunday Communion Hymn no.1)); “Khvalite Gospoda s nebes no.2” (Prichastnyĭ stikh no.1 v voskresene) (“Praise the Lord from the Heavens no.2” (Sunday Communion Hymn no.1))
	“Tvoriaiu angelu svoia dukha” (Prichastnyĭ stikh no.2 v ponedelnik) “Angelic Host” (Monday Communion Hymn no.2))

	“V pamyat′ vechnuyu” (Prichastnyĭ stikh no.3 vo vtornik) (“The Memory of the Righteous” (Tuesday Communion Hymn no.3))
	“Chashu spaseniia” (Prichastnyĭ stikh no.4 v sredu) (“The Chalice of Salvation” (Wednesday Communion Hymn no.4))
	“Vo vsiu zemliu” (Prichastnyĭ stikh no.5 v chetverg) (“To all the Earth” (Thursday Communion Hymn no.5))
	“Spasenie sodelal esi” (Prichastnyĭ stikh no.6 v piatnitsu) (“You have Created Salvation” (Friday Communion Hymn no.6))
	“Raduĭtesia pravednii no.1” (“Rejoice the Righteous no.1”); “Raduĭtesia pravednii no.2” (Prichastnyĭ stikh no.7 v subbotu)” (“Rejoice the Righteous No.2 (Saturday Communion Hymn no.7)”)
	“Znamenasia na nas svet litsa” (Prichastsen na vozdvizhenie kresta) (“Bestow on us the Light of your Countenance (Communion: Exaltation of the Cross))
	“Vzyde Bog (prichasten na vozdvizhenie Gospodne) (“Arise O God” (Communion: the Ascension of Our Lord))
	“Dogmatik 1: go glasa: Vsemirnuiu slavu” (“Dogmatik of the First Mode: Glory to the Whole World”)
	“Irmosy kanon na Utreni v Velikuiu Subbotu” (Volnoiu morskoiu) (“Irmos of the Canon for Matins on Easter Saturday” (By the Waves of the Sea))
1884	*Sobranie dukhovno-muzykal'nikh perelozhenii* (*Collection of Sacred Musical Arrangements*). For SATB.
	“Kheruvimskaia pesnia” (“Song of the Cherubim”)
	“Da molchit vsyakaia plot chelovecha” (“Let All Mortal Flesh Keep Silent”)
	“Voskresnyĭ prichastnyĭ stikh” (“Sunday Communion Hymn”)
	“Se zhenikh griadet” (“See the Bridegroom Comes”)
	“Chertog tvoĭ vizhdu, Spase Moĭ” (“I Enter Thy Hall, My Savior”)
	“Psalom: Na rekakh Vavilonskikh” (“Psalm: By the Rivers of Babylon”)
1888	“My khbalim Tebia, Bozhe” (“We Praise Thee, O God”). Liturgical music
1888	8 settings from Liturgy of St. John Christanthom
1899	*Pesn o veshchem Olege* (*Song of Oleg the Wise*), Op. 58. Cantata on text by Pushkin for tenor, bass, male chorus, and orchestra
1901	*Iz Gomera, prelude-cantata* (*From Homer*), Op. 60. Text from the Odyssey for soprano, mezzo-soprano, alto, female choruse, and orchestra.

Sergei Lyapunov (1859-1924)	
Date:	**Time:**
1900	“Dve russkie pesni” (“2 Russian Songs”), Op.15. For mixed voices.
1912	Five Quartets, Op. 47. For male voices.
1912	Five Quartets, Op. 48. For male voices.
1915	Sacred Works and Arrangements, Op. 62. For mixed voices.
1920	“Vechernyaia pesn” (“Evening Song”). Canata with text by Khomyakov for tenor, chorus, and orchestra.

Anatoly Liadov (1855-1914)	
Date:	**Time:**
1878-1891	Final Scene from Schiller: Die Braut von Messina, Op. 28. For 4 solo voices, chorus, and orchestra.
1893	"Velichanie V.V. Stasova" ("In Praise of Stasov"). Written for Stasov's 70th birthday for female voices.
1899	"Slava" ("Glory"), Op. 47. For female voices, 2 harps, and 2 pianofortes (8 hands).
1900	"Proshchalnaia pesn vospitannits Instituta imperatritsy Marii" ("Farewell Song of the Pupils of the Empress Maria Institute"), Op. 50. For female voices and pianoforte.
1902-1903	"Hymn." Op. 54. Written for unveiling of statue of A.G. Rubinstein in the St. Petersburg Conservatory.
1909	10 arrangements from the Obikhod, Op. 61. For unaccompanied voices.
1910	"Ezhechasnaia molitva sviatitelia Iosafa Gorlenko" ("The Hourly Prayer of Prelate Iosaf Gorlenko"). For unaccompanied voices, published in A. Malyarevsky: *Svyatitel Iosaf, ėpiskop Belgorodskiy* (*Prelate Iosaf, Bishop of Belgorod*)

Anton Rubinstein (1824-1894)	
Date:	**Time:**
1851	Russian Church Chorus
1852	12 Songs, Op. 48. On Russian texts for 2 voices and pianoforte.
1854	Solemn Overture. For chorus, organ, and orchestra.
1854	"Molitva pered bitvoĭ" ("Prayer before Battle"). Text by A. Maykov for 1 voice and chorus.
1856	6 Songs, Op. 31. On German texts for 4 male voices.
1861	3 Partsongs, Op. 61. On German texts for male voices.
1861	6 Partsongs, Op. 62. On German texts for mixed voices.
1864	*Rusalka* (*The Water Spirit*), Op. 63. Text by M. Lermontov for alto, female chorus, and orchestra or pianoforte.
1864	"Utro" ("Morning"), Op. 74. Text by Polonsky, cantata for male voices and orchestra.
1867	6 Songs, Op. 67. On German texts for 2 voices and pianoforte.
1872	*Songs and Requiem for Mignon*, Op. 91. Text from Goethe: Wilhelm Meister for solo voices, chorus, and pianoforte.
1872	*Haga in der Wüste*, Op. 92. Dramatic scene on text by F. von Saar for soprano, alto, tenor, and orchestra.
1879	"Bacchanal" Text by A. Pushkin for bass, male chorus, and pianoforte.

Sergei Taneev (1856-1915)	
Date:	**Title:**
1874	"Slava N.G. Rubinshteĭnu" ("Glory to N.G. Rubinstein"). Text by Y. Samarin for 4 solo voices, chorus, and orchestra. Based on Russian folksong "Slava Bogu na nebe"
1874-1875	"Bozhe! Bud milostiv k nam" ("God be Merciful unto Us")
1877	"Sosna" ("The Pine") Text by M.I. Lermontov for SATB.
1878	"Venetsiia nochiu" ("Venice at Night"). Text by Fet for SATB, 1877. Revised in 1880 as no.1 of 3 Choruses for male voices.

1879	“Kvartet chinovnikov” (“Civil Servants’ Quartet”). For 1 voice, chorus, and strings.
1879	Fugue on a Russian Folksong
1880	*Ia pamiatnik sebe vozdvig nerukotvornyĭ* (*I Have Built Myself a Monument Not Made by Hands*). Text by A.S. Pushkin. Cantata for the Unveiling of the Pushkin Memorial for chorus and orchestra.
1880	“Niderlandskaia fantasiya na russkuiu temu” (“Netherlandish Fantasia on a Russian Theme”). For 12 voices or solo voices. Based on no. 12 in Balakirev’s folk song collection.
1880	“Kheruvimskaia” (“Cherubim’s Song”). For SSATBB.
1880	“Ceremonial Chorus for the Arrival of Guests”. For STBB.
1880	Three Choruses: “Venetsiia nochiu”; “Noktiurn” Text by Fet; “Vesëlyĭ chas” (“A Happy Hour”). Text by A.V. Kol′tsov for male voices.
1880	“Lech by v krovati” (“I Want to Lie in Bed”). Text by Taneyev, a comic canon.
1880	Two Comic Fugues: “Fontan” (“The Fountain”). For alto, baritone, and bass; “Spetsialist podoben fliusu” (“A Specialist is Like a Gumboil”). Text by K. Prutkov for alto, tenor, and bass.
1880	“Odnazhdy k popade” (“Once to a Priest’s Wife”). Text by Prutkov for three basses.
1881	*Apofeoz khudozhnika* (*Apotheosis of the Artist*) Text by Taneyev. Cantata for bass, chorus, and pianoforte.
1881	“Irmos” (“First Verse”). From the First Hymn of Epiphany for SATB.
1881	“Pesnia korolia Regner” (“King Regner’s Song”). For male voices.
1881	“Vecherniaia pesni” (“Evening Song”). Text by Khomyakov for male voices.
1883	“Fugue.” For SATB chorus or solo voices.
1883	*Ioann Damaskin* (*John of Damascus*), Op. 1. Text by A.K. Tolstoy. Cantata for chorus and orchestra.
1883	Three Sacred Pieces: “Khvalite imia Gospodne” (“Praise the Name of the Lord”). For 5 voices; “Tvoriaĭ angely svoia” (“He Who Makes His Angels”). For 4 voices; “Spaseniia sodelal esi” (“Though Hast Brought Salvation”). For 6 voices on a theme from the Ordinary.
1884	Madrigal. Text by Taneyev for SAB.
1885	“Slava Kirillu i Mefodiiu” (“Glory to Cyril and Methodius”)
1887	“Siadu zavtra ia k okoshechku” (“Tomorrow I Shall Sit by the Little Window”). Text by Taneyev. Romance for 4 voices or solo voices.
1887	“Srazhennyĭ rytsar” (“The Knight Struck Down”). Text by Pushkin for BBBB.
1887	Two Trios: “Skromnost” (“Modesty”); “Raznye vina” (“Different Wines”). Text by G.R. Derzhavin for BBB with pianoforte.
1888	“Ekho” (“The Echo”). Text by Pushkin for SATBB.
1895	Three Comic Canons for Leonid Sabaneyev. Esperanto texts for chorus or solo voices.
1897	“Voskhod solntsa” (“Sunrise”), Op.8. Text by F. Tyutchev.
1898	“Iz kraia v kraĭ” (“From Border to Border”), Op. 10. Text by Tyutchev for double chorus.
1904	Two Choruses, Op. 15: “Zvozdy” (“Stars”). Text by Khomyakov; “Alpy” (“The Alps”). Text by Tyutchev.
1909	Two Choruses: “Ty konchil zhizni put, geroĭ” (“You Have Finished Life’s Journey, O Hero”); “Solntse nespiashchikh” (“Sun of the Sleepless”). Text by Byron for SATBB.
1909	Twelve Choruses, Op. 27. Text by Yu.P. Polonsky.
	“Na mogile” (“On the Tomb”)
	“Vecher” (“Evening”)
	“Razvalinu bashni” (“The Tower’s Ruin”)

	“Posmotri, kakaia mgla” (“Behold, what Darkness”)
	“Na korable” (“On the Boat”)
	“Molitva” (“Prayer”)
	“Iz vechnosti muzyka vdrug razdalas” (“Music Suddenly Sounded from Eternity”)
	“Prometeĭ” (“Prometheus”)
	“Uvidal iz-za tuchi utës” (“From Behind the Cloud I Saw a Rock”)
	“Zvozdi” (“Stars”)
	“Po goram dve khmurykh tuchi” (“Two Sullen Clouds Among the Mountains”)
	“V dni, kogda nad sonnym morem” (“On a Day When Over the Sunny Sea”)
1912-1915	*Po prochtenii psalma* (*At the Reading of a Psalm*), Op. 36. Text by A.S. Khomyakov. Cantata for 4 solo voices, chorus, and orchestra.
1914	Sixteen Choruses, Op. 35. Text by K. Bal′mont for male voices.
	“Tishina” (“Stillness”)
	“Priimaki” (“Visions”)
	“Sfinks” (“Sphinx”)
	“Zaria” (“Dawn”)
	“Molitva” (“Prayer”)
	“V prostrantsvakh ėfira” (“In the Expanses of the Ether”)
	“I son i smert” (“Both Sleep and Death”)
	“Nebesnaia rosa” (“The Dew of Heaven”)
	“Mërtvye korabli” (“Dead Ships”)
	“Zvuki priboia” (“Sounds of the Surf”)
	“Morskoe dno” (“The Sea Bed”)
	“Morskaia pesnia” (“Sea Song”)
	“Tishina” (“Stillness”)
	“Gibel” (“The Wreck”)
	“Belyĭ lebed” (“The White Swan”)
	“Lebed” (“The Swan”)

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